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A REVIEW (QUARTERLY):

EDITED BY

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WHAT FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS ARE ABOUT.

I. Scientific Books.

HEN one thinks of the immense activity displayed in the early years of the history of printing in face of the difficulties met with, the question presents itself naturally—'What is the literary value of the books produced

by these efforts'? To this question no immediate answer can be given; it must be dealt with in detail, and subject by subject. A preliminary classification, based on popular wants, at once suggests itself: books of devotion (using the word in its widest sense) as the first need, law, literature—polite or popular—and science following in the order named. Whatever the faults of this system may be, it will give us some clue to the character of the effective demand on the printer by the reading public.

Science, in our sense of the word, is not a product of the Middle Age. The art of questioning nature by experiment based on theory hardly existed, and students were concerned with answering

the question 'Why'? deducing from their answer to this the response to the other question 'How'? with which modern science has learnt to content itself. Natural knowledge, of course, existed, and this with instinctive symbolism the Middle Age classified in seven Sciences, seven Liberal Arts, seven Mechanic Arts, and seven Forbidden Arts. The seven Sciences were Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, Ethics, Physics and Metaphysics; the seven Liberal Arts were Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric (the trivium), Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy (the quadrivium); the seven Mechanic Arts were Weaving, Arms, Navigation, Agriculture, Hunting, Medicine, and the Theatre. In such cases as Music and Geometry, for example, the distinction between the science and the art was easily lost sight of, nay, was usually ignored (the quadrivium being taken as representing the scientific part of the educational course), but it existed always. We shall leave out of consideration in this article the sciences of Ethics and Metaphysics, and the arts of Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric.

Before entering on the study of special treatises we have to consider the works which treat of all knowledge. It was possible in the Middle Age to say 'All there is to know, I know it,' with some truth. Naturally, the limits of knowledge being small, encyclopaedic treatises were not uncommon. Some were mere handbooks—rather surveys than complete studies. The earliest of these in point of date of composition was the treatise of Martianus Capella (fifth century), an allegory of the marriage

of Philology with Mercury, where the bride is accompanied by the seven liberal arts, each of whom describes the scope of her teaching in a separate book. Two editions were printed. A later work was that of Isidore of Seville (seventh century), of which eleven editions are described. It is concerned with the Etymologies, but gives a description of the properties of each substance to connect it with the meaning assigned to the name which is often quoted in the Middle Age. But it was not till after the rise of Universities that the passion for encyclopaedic writing was really felt. Its first manifestation was in the composition of immense 'Summae,' collections of comments on Peter Lombard, the Master of Sentences (the 'Summae' of Alexander Ales, Ricardus Rufus, St. Thomas, Albertus, etc.), on Aristotle (Albertus and St. Thomas), or on law. As these works increased in bulk, they began to be produced by communities under the direction and name of one man; the commentaries of Albertus Magnus on Natural Science are the fruit of the labour of a whole Dominican school under his direction. This method was applied under the direction of Vincent of Beauvais to the formation of a vast encyclopaedic work, compiled for the use of Louis IX. of France, and printed in the fifteenth century under the names of 'Speculum Historiale,' 'Speculum Naturale,' and 'Speculum Doctrinale.' A fourth work attributed to him, the 'Speculum Morale,' was written a century later. These works were composed of extracts, given under their author's name, and arranged according to a definite and easily understood system. They

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were true encyclopaedias, and preserve for us portions of many works which have otherwise totally perished. The list of authors quoted from in the 'Speculum Naturale' gives 350 names. Five editions of the first work (from 1473 onward) and three of each of the others were printed, and only their immense bulk prevented them from becoming as popular as the work of Bartholomew the Englishman, 'De Proprietatibus Rerum,' of which twenty-six editions at least (seven of them illustrated) were issued during the century in response to the demand for a more manageable book. Six editions of the 'Summa de Exemplis ac Similitudinibus Rerum' were published. It was written in the last years of the thirteenth century, and is a good type of the abbreviated encyclopaedia.

At the end of the 15th century the fashion revived, and Reisch wrote his 'Margarita Philosophica.' 'L'acerba' of Cecco d'Ascoli is an encyclopaedic poem of which eleven editions are described, although it had been condemned by the Inquisition in 1324, while one edition of the 'Tesoro,' of Brunetto Latini, also appeared. The 'Buch der Natur' of Conrad von Meygenberg (six editions) is also a short encyclopaedia, which contains some fine illustrations. It is significant that most of the copies of Vincent de Beauvais one comes across have been the property of large religious houses, while Bartholomew and St. Geminiano have generally been owned by private persons or small communities. Pliny, who was first printed in 1469, has been treated as natural history, though perhaps his twenty editions should go to swell the list of encyclopaedias.

Mathematics, the first on the list of mediaeval sciences, may be treated of together with geometry. Early arithmetics are often called algorisms or algorithms. They treated of the elementary rules and operations of the science (excluding the socalled compound rules), progressions, and the extraction of roots, square, cubic, and other. They are usually anonymous, but a few treatises have been published under their authors' names, e.g. Beldamantis (1483), Calendar (1491), Pietro Borgo (four editions from 1482), Lucas de Burgo (1494), P. Corvellus (1495), Purbach and others. New treatises generally made their appearances in great trading centres, like Venice, Florence, etc., where were also produced works on exchange, like Chiarino's 'Libro di Mercatantie' (two editions, 1481), though Widmann's 'Rechnung auf allen Kaufmannschaften' was printed in Pforzheim in 1500. The older classical treatment of the subject is found in Boethius, either in his complete works (1491, etc.), or in Ratdolt's edition of 1488. A curious game founded on the art is described in Shirwod's 'Epitome de Ludo Arithmomachiae,' and elsewhere. Geometry, as we conceive it, is represented by an epitome of Euclid's definitions in Boethius, and the two editions of Euclid of 1482 and 1491, from the translation of Campanus de Novara, or rather of Adelard of Bath. But if treatises on geometry were lacking, its applications were not to seek. Peckham's 'Perspective' treats of geometrical opticsa subject cultivated in consequence of Roger Bacon's exaggerated praise. But geography is a part of the geometry of the Middle Age. It can be divided

into two classes-Cosmography and Itinerariesthough one has a suspicion that much of the literature in both classes should more properly come under the head of fiction. A number of works on cosmography are by ancient authors, Apuleius, Pomponius Mela, Dionysius, Ptolemy, Solinus, Strabo, etc.; others are descriptions of particular countries and even towns, and of one of these, the 'Mirabilia Romae,' no fewer than fifty editions remain. Of Itineraries the unveracious Mandeville heads the list with twenty-one editions, while Marco Polo has but four. The best of the class is Breydenbach's 'Opusculum Sanctarum Peregrinationum ad Sepulcrum Christi,' of which ten editions were published from 1486, magnificently illustrated. The 'Portolano' of Venice, 1490, is the first work of its kind published for sailors; the books of Aloysius à Breda (1479), 'de Arte Navigandi,' and Alonso de Guelve, 'Compendio del Arte de Navegar' (1494), being apocryphal.

The Astronomy of mediaeval writers was of two kinds, Astronomy proper as we know it, and Astrology. Astronomy proper was the nearest approach to a modern science reached in ancient times. The books published in the fifteenth century may be divided into three classes: ancient writers, such as Manilius, Ptolemy, etc.; Arab, Hebrew, and Syrian authors as Alfaraganus (1493); and mediaeval and Renaissance writers, such as Cecco d'Ascoli, John of Halifax (Sacrobosco) of whom over thirty-seven editions exist from 1478 onwards—on the one hand, and P. de Aliaco (1480), Andalius (1475), Purbach (1472), Bonatus (1491), Brudzeus (1495), Dati

(1478), etc., on the other. Sacrobosco's treatise is a really useful and well-constructed elementary textbook, explaining the diurnal movements, eclipses, and the circles of the astronomical sphere, which remained popular until the complete acceptance of the new theories of the solar system at the end of the sixteenth century. The dependence of the ecclesiastical year on a highly complicated theory of astronomy involved the existence of a large class of works known under the title of 'Computus,' giving the rules for calculating the dates of the Church festivals. Regiomontanus is responsible for thirty-three separate works or editions, besides notes on many others, and the number of Predictions and Calendars cannot even be estimated with any approach to accuracy. Two editions of the astronomical tables of Alphonso X., King of Castille, were published, and a large number of more special treatises, such as that of Granollach on the conjunction of the moon and the planets, of which fourteen editions are known. Treatises on the Astrolabe were concerned with the use of astronomical instruments, and several of these were published as separate volumes. Astrology was regarded as a practical application of Astronomy, and the principal writers on the subject were of Eastern origin—Aben Ezra, Albubather, Albumasar, Alchabitius, Alfaraganus. The science depended on the Ptolemaic theory of the universe, and on certain traditional views of the characters of the planets derived from the remotest antiquity. The actions and interactions of these planets were most powerful at birth, and shaped the whole career of the infant; hence the

number of books 'de Nativitatibus,' but they had a general influence besides, and other books treat 'de Conjunctionibus,' of the conjunctions of the planets in various signs. Moreover, as the state of the heavens can be ascertained at any moment, one can ascertain what was the natural thing to do in a certain set of circumstances at a certain time, and what the result will likely be, hence another set of books, 'de Questionibus.' The calendars, of course, contain

astrological predictions for the year.

The Science and Art of Music, as known to mediaeval writers, is ill represented in the printed books. The treatise of Boethius, which was the foundation of the school course, was not reprinted separately, and most of the encyclopaedias simply extract from him. It dealt principally with the mathematical relations which lie at the root of the production of musical sounds. But towards the end of the century the art began to grow popular, and we find no fewer than twelve editions of works devoted to music, Gafori (1480) being the most interesting. The others are 'Flores Musicae,' Burzio (1487), 'Opusculum Musices,' Keinspeck, 'Lilium Musicae, 1498, Tinctor, whose work, 'Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorum,' was practically a Dictionary of Music, and the 'Musicae Compendium,' 1499. Besides these, there was much printed music in the service books, etc.

Physics is the last of the mediaeval sciences within the scope of this paper. In our days the name is taken as meaning Experimental Physics only; in the Middle Age it concerned itself exclusively with theory: the four principles of nature—

the material cause, the efficient cause, the final cause, the formal cause—place, time, motion, elements, and the passage from one element to the other, were the subjects of which it treated. The books we meet with are in the form of commentaries on the physical treatises of Aristotle—most of them modern, but a few by Arab writers, as Averroes (printed with Aristotle), Avicenna, etc., or by the great writers of the thirteenth century, like Albertus

Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Leaving the Sciences and the Liberal Arts, we come to the Mechanic Arts. I do not know of any books treating specially of the art of cloth making, and pass at once to the next, the Art of War. Here the principal authors are the classics Modestus (three editions from 1474), Vegetius (nine editions including a Caxton), the 'Scriptores Rei Militaris,' 1495, Aelian and Frontinus, and some mediaeval compilations like Bonnor's 'Arbre des Batailles' (four editions). The Renaissance writers were Cornazano(1493), Gratiadei(1489), and Valturius(1472, etc.). In navigation we have only the Portolano already referred to, and in Hunting the book of King Modus (four editions), a mediaeval compilation in the form of a dialogue between Modus and Ratio, the two editions of the Book of St. Albans, Oppian, and two books on horses, Rufus 'de Morbis Equorum' and Rusius 'de Marescalcia.'

Agriculture takes a wider range. The works treating of it are the commentators on Virgil's 'Georgics,' Columella (eight editions) on the cultivation of gardens, and the 'Scriptores Rei Rusticae,' a collection including besides Columella, Palladius, Cato,

Varro (seven editions from 1472), for the ancients, and Crescentius (seventeen editions from 1474). Rolewinck 'de Regimine Rusticorum' is a religious treatise, while the unfortunate bibliographer who included Andreae 'de Arboribus' and Boutillier's 'la Somme Rurale' in his list of agricultural books, was a victim to the poetic fancy of mediaeval writers on civil law. Herbals may no doubt be included under this head, but most of them fall under that of Medicine, which we are now to consider. They are often illustrated, especially the German editions, and are much esteemed on that account.

If we were to judge the relative importance of medical writers by the respective dates of their printing, we should be led to the conclusion that Mesue and Serapion were the authors most in request in the fifteenth century. Fourteen editions of the former and six of the latter appeared during the century. But this was not the case. The most popular treatises are found in a collection called the 'Articella,' of which six editions appeared. It contains the twelve following treatises: Iohannitius 'isagoge ad tegni Galieni,' Philaretus 'de pulsibus,' Theophilus 'de urinis,' Hippocrates 'aphorismi,' Galen 'commentum,' Hippocrates 'liber prognosticorum,' 'liber regiminis acutorum,' 'liber epidemiarum,' 'de natura foetus,' Galen 'tegni,' Gentilis de Fulgineo 'de divisione librorum Galieni,' Hippocrates 'lex et jusjurandum.' This collection we may assume to be the course of study usually taken by students of medicine. From a list of the books lectured on at Montpellier in 1340, we find that the first and part of the fourth Canon of Avi-

cenna, and nearly the whole of Galen, were commented on in addition to these and the 'Antidotarium' of Mesue. But manuscript collections of short treatises were not out of the reach of the pockets of well-to-do students, or the pens of poorer ones. The special utility of the printing press in its early days was the multiplication of copies of long standard works, the time taken in printing an edition being hardly more than that occupied in writing a single example. This accounts for the issue of the Bible, St. Jerome, Augustine, Vincent of Beauvais, etc., at such early dates. Next in order comes the publication of entirely new works, a few of the smarter men of letters comprehending the advantage in point of publicity this method afforded them. It was not till comparatively late in the century that the press was extensively used for short standard works.

Medical books have always been in considerable request, and we are not surprised to see that they form a large proportion of the scientific output of the press. That there was a substantial demand for them is seen by the fact that in 1470, long after the invention of printing, when Louis XI. desired to borrow the 'Totum continens' of Rhases from the University of Paris, to have a copy made of it, he was obliged to deposit a considerable sum in silver plate as a guarantee for its safe return. We have several inventories of the libraries of medical men which show us what books were in most demand. The reference library of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris in 1396, consisted of the following works: Simon Genuensis 'de theriacis,' Car-

pinata, Avicenna, Mesue 'de medicamentis simplicium,' Murepsius 'antidotarium,' Albucasis, 'antidotarium,' Rhases 'totum continens.' In 1438 the inventory of the goods of Pierre Chardonnel shows him to have possessed thirty books whose names and estimated values follow. The livre is perhaps equal to £2 and the sol to 2s. of our money. Avicenna, book i., 24s.; Isaac 'de dietis,' 8s.; Gordon 'lilium medicinae,' 20s.; Gaddesden 'rosa medicinae,' 16; Jehan de St. Amande, 'comment. sup. antidotarium,' 16s.; Rhases, book ix, 10s.; 'Aphorismi,' 16s.; Tacuin 'dolores nervium,' 12s.; Galen, 12s.; Lanfranc 'chirurgia,' 4s.; Avicenna, 41., 'Saliceto,' 41., Isaac 'de urinis,' 8s.; Mesue 'compend. medicamentorum simplicium,' 4s.; Serapion 'breviarium,' 4s.; Aegidius 'de virtutibus,' 8s., and a number of smaller tracts. Most of these books rank among the earliest printed.

Between 1473 and 1480 appeared the 'Canon' of Avicenna, Celsus, Gordon 'Lilium Medicinae,' Ortolff, Savonarola, Simon Genuensis, Sylvaticus, Cermisonus 'Consilia,' Dioscorides, Manfredus, Benedict de Nursia 'Regimen Salernitanum,' Abano 'de Venenis,' and a few others in medicine, Saliceto in surgery and Mundinus 'de Anatomia,' the only work on the subject printed in the century. Of these Avicenna, Celsus, Mesue, Serapion, Gordon, Dioscorides, and Abano were recognized classics, while the 'Regimen Salernitanum' was the only work among them that appealed to the general public. It was a collection of advice regarding the preservation of health drawn up by the faculty of

Salerno for the benefit of a King Richard, and much of it still forms part of the old wives' medicine of to-day. Besides these works a certain number of commentaries appeared, Forlivio on Galen, Gentilis on Avicenna, etc. The next decade produced Avenzohar, Hugo Senensis, Manfredus, Saliceto, and some popular works like the 'Buch der Krankheit' (1484), Argellata on Surgery, a number of herbals, Isaac, Magninus, and Zerbius on diet. The last decade of the century produced a number of treatises on special subjects. Ellenbog, Brunschwig, Ficinus, Kamintus, Manfredus, Taranta, Bauer, Cermisonus, Francisca da Siena, all wrote on the Plague, and most of them ran through several editions, while in the last three years of the century Grünbeck, Leonicenus, Pistor, Scanarolus, Torella, and Montesaurus published treatises on the Neapolitan evil, then making its first dreadful ravages through Italy. These were reprinted in many editions. Looking over the list of books published on the subject with regard to the number of editions, etc., we may estimate that half the works printed were systematic treatises, about one-fifth works on diet, the preservation of health, about one-fifth on poisons and on specific diseases, about one-tenth on drugs and simples, including herbals, and less than five per cent. on surgery and anatomy.

We have now only to consider a class of books which would certainly have been included by mediaeval writers as science, and which we may label 'occult science.' The experimental knowledge of natural objects possessed by the ancients consisted of a limited number of empirically observed pro-

perties of things hardly linked together by anything worthy the name of a theory. The only approach to such a thing was what afterwards developed into the doctrine of signatures—the idea that Nature had imprinted on each plant or animal some resemblance which should lead men to divine its use. original statement of this idea is lost in the mist of time. It came into Europe from the East already complicated with the infantile symbolism of numbers, of myths, of folk-lore. The earliest collections of such literature we possess are Syrian, Hebrew and Arabic treatises on the properties of things, stones, plants and animals, and the 'Physiologus' of Theobaldus, a treatise of the nature of twelve animals, of which at least ten fifteenth-century editions are known. The animals, fabulous or real, are shown to recall the qualities of the Redeemer by some rude symbolism which impressed itself deeply on the sculpture and stained glass of the Middle Age, and which was, not improbably, of Gnostic origin. Albertus Magnus and his companions devoted some time to the classification and collection of treatises of this sort, and one result of their work was the Liber Aggregationis seu Secretorum de Virtutibus Herbarum, Lapidum, et Animalium Quorundam.' I am aware that this book is universally regarded as non-authentic on à priori reasons, such as, for example, that it is unworthy the reputation of a teacher of his standing, that it is full of ridiculous errors, etc., but many of the statements occur as references in undoubted works of Albertus, and the book itself is indubitably thirteenth-century. The materials for a careful study of this book cannot be said to exist, yet it contains fragments of books which date back to very early times, beliefs which rose at the beginning of folk-lore. Works somewhat similar in part are the pseudo-Aristotelian treatises 'Secreta Secretorum,' of which some nine editions are described, and the 'Lapidarium.' Another treatise attributed to Albertus with perhaps less reason is the "de Secretis Mulierum et Virorum.' About twenty-eight editions of this treatise are described. It deals with those aspects of the mystery of sex about which primitive intelligences are curious, and with physiognomy, which it gathers from the same source as the 'Secreta Secretorum' and the physiognomy of Michael Scot—Arab physicians and universal folk-lore. A work of similar character, but more scientific, is Candidus 'de Genitura Hominis,' which ran through several editions.

A pseudo-science which attracted much attention from fifteenth-century book-buyers was Chiromancy—divination by the hand. At least fifteen and probably more editions were issued, some of them xylographic. Besides the traditional treatise, of which twelve editions are described, there exists a pseudo-Aristotelian one, and others by Hartlieb and Tibertus of Antioch. No attempt seems to have been made to arrive at the early history of this strange belief. Another form of divination, the interpretation of dreams, was also much studied, the most popular treatise being the 'Somniorum Expositio' of Daniel the Prophet. Two forms of this treatise exist, and about eighteen editions are described in the century. A student of psychology would find much to interest him in this account of

the dreams of mediaeval and eastern folk, their frequency, and the meanings assigned them. The significations, from a slight examination, are not comparable with those now given in popular dream books. So distinguished a physicianas Arnoldus de Villanova did not hesitate to compose a treatise 'de Interpretatione Somniorum,' which attained a separate publication.

The literature of Magic is, as might be expected, concerned in the main with its detection and reprobation. Treatises indeed exist such as that of Jerome Torrella—' Opus Præclarum de Imaginibus Astrologicis' wherein he examines the question whether celestial images inscribed on gold have power to cure diseases, with what answer I forget. Andrelinus' 'de Influentia Siderum' passed through three editions, and we have several chap book accounts of spirits good and evil, and prophecies of Antichrist and his times. The literature of witchcraft is comparatively large, and includes Basin 'de Magicis Artibus,' Paris, two editions, 1483; Champier 'Dialogus adversus Artem Magicam,' Lyons; the 'Malleus Maleficarum' of Institor, with nine editions; the 'Flagellum Maleficorum' of Mamor, four editions; Murner 'de Phitonis Contractu'; Molitor 'de Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus,' ten editions, and several smaller works. Geber on Alchemy concludes the list.

We have now rapidly traversed the ground covered by our title. It only remains to form some estimate of what proportion this literature bears to the whole volume of printing during the fifteenth century. The question is not very easily answered for two reasons. We have only taken account of

separate publications, ignoring their size, and reckoning in composite treatises only the first. On the other hand, nothing more than a first approximation can be made to the number of books published in the period. Burger gives a list of about twenty thousand books, his plan omits about two thousand more, and good judges estimate that there are probably about seven thousand books as yet undescribed. For the purpose of a rough estimation I shall take Proctor's list of about ten thousand incunabula comparing it with two other libraries. Following the classification I have adopted it contains:

	Profter,	Copenhagen.	Sto Geneviève.
Encyclopaedic Treatises	41	22	7
Mathematics	24	12	4
Astronomy	81	32	26
Cosmography	76	22	14
Natural History	33	10	11
Itineraries	39	17	6
Music	12		3
Physics	77	30	3 7
Arms	19	6	5
Navigation	1		_
Agriculture	18	5	2
Hunting	6	1	1
Medicine	247	72	28
Occult Science	93	39	7
Calendars	71	39	
	838	276	121

i.e., scientific works of any kind amount to one in twelve of the publications of the century. A rough estimate of the Copenhagen library, containing 2,500 incunabula gives 276 books of the same class—one in nine; Sto Geneviève, with 1,200, has 121—one in

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ten. It will be noted that the proportion of scientific works in the larger collection, which is in the main that of the British Museum, in which fifteenth-century books have been acquired chiefly as specimens of typography is sensibly less than that of the older and smaller libraries which represent the needs of contemporary students. The incunabula yet undescribed are, it is to be considered, less likely to be works of importance, and therefore a yet lower proportion may be expected. We may therefore estimate for the whole 30,000 incunabula a proportion of one in sixteen, or say 1,800 books of the class if the progression holds, a number, I think, erring on the side of excess.

R. STEELE.

NOTES ON THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

HE recent gathering at Stationers'
Hall to commemorate the five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Company, when Mr. John Miles, the master of the Company, who was himself for many years

who was himself for many years honourably connected with the trade which flourishes under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and many distinguished representatives of the literary and scientific world, has brought into prominence the services rendered by the members of this antient guild when the art of printing was in its infancy. Of the early history of the Company there are few existing records, for in the Great Fire of 1666 the Company's Hall was totally destroyed together with a vast amount of property and the bulk of their documents. But from the records that remain and the books of the Corporation of London it appears that on the 12th July, 1403, 'the reputable men of the Craft of Writers of Text Letters those commonly called scriveners and other good folks citizens of London who were wont to bind and sell books,' presented a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen to form them into a guild or fraternity with two wardens to oversee and rule their trades, and the prayer of this petition was forthwith

granted. As the trade in books increased the text writers and scriveners were superseded by printers; these craftsmen disposed of their sheets to a separate class called Stationers, who bound them up and sold them in shops, and this trade of the Stationers became so profitable that they became the more powerful body and took the lead of the printers, associating their name with the Guild which was soon known as the Guild or Company of Stationers.

Notwithstanding the industry of Joseph Ames and the Rev. William Herbert, there is doubtless much yet to be learnt as to the early Stationers. During the last few years, more especially owing to the careful examination of the archives at Westminster Abbey now being made by Dr. E. J. L. Scott, several small details about Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde and other early printers have been discovered, and within the last three months the British Museum has acquired a book from the press of Richard Pynson bearing an earlier date (November, 1492) than any piece of his printing previously known. For a century and a half the craft or guild discharged its duties of controlling the trade and carrying on amongst its members a lucrative jointstock business. In accordance with the ordinances of the City, all persons carrying on the business of a Stationer or cognate trade were required to enrol themselves members of the Craft, and having been enrolled they became subject to its rules and byelaws. Under rules of the Stationers' Craft every member was required to enter in the clerk's book the name of each book or 'copy' which he claimed as his property for the purpose of avoiding disputes,

and this private rule for the protection of the members' property and their good government was the foundation from which sprung the statutory rights now known as 'Copyright.'

In the early years of the Craft the members had comparatively small means, and for the purpose of providing funds for a venture several combined to-

gether, and the printing of the books was divided between them under the direction of the wardens, who directed the mode of division of the profits, a small portion always being set aside for the relief of distressed craftsmen. Gradually, and irrespective of the profits of private ventures of individual members and their quired funds which



partners, the Craft ac- seal of the stationers' company.

were increased by successful trading and profitably invested in books or 'copies.' As the wealth of the craftsmen increased their ambition was aroused to obtain a Charter from the Crown in accordance with the custom of the other trading bodies in London. Political and religious troubles favoured the Stationers, who hoped by means of the enlarged powers they would possess under the protection of the Crown to retain in their own hands the rapidly

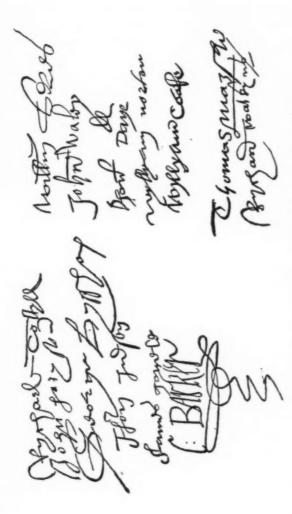
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increasing trade, and in 1556 the Craft was incorporated under the style of 'The Master and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of a Stationer of the City of London,' and shortly afterwards the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen granted the Company a livery 'of scarlet, brown and blue.' Like most of the City Companies the Stationers' Company is governed by a Master and two Wardens, with a Court of Assistants elected from the livery; the number of the livery is unlimited, and admission to the Company has ever been strictly confined to members of the several trades connected with the production of a book and their descendants born free.

As soon as the incorporation was complete the byelaws or ordinances of the Craft were revised and submitted to the judges for approval. After providing for the internal concerns of the Company, such as election of office bearers and the powers of the Court, the regulations affecting the trade are

set forth, which include the following:

'No printing press to be erected without first acquainting the Master and Wardens; Prohibition to all parties, abettors and assistants, against erecting "a press in a hole" and buying pirated books; No Member to suffer an apprentice to work at unlawful presses or work; No printer to teach his Art to any but his son or apprentice; No printer who works at an illegal press or on piratical books to be admitted as a pensioner; Law books to be printed by none but the patentees; No Member of the Company to print any unlicensed books; Members privy to the printing binding or selling unlicensed pub-



SIGNATURES OF EARLY MEMBERS OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

lications to disclose them to the Master and Wardens on pain if stockholders of having their dividends sequestered and if not stockholders to be fined; Pensioners offending to lose their pensions and holders of loan money to have their loans called in; Printers offending to have no stock work for one year; Those who enter copies to be reputed the proprietors and to have the sole printing of them; Penalty for printing importing or publishing another person's entered copy; Power to the Master and Wardens to search printing houses warehouses and shops; No entered copy to be printed by another without assignment.'

The number of apprentices were limited thus:

Every Member of	the Con	npany	
who is or has be	en Mast	ter or	
Upper Warden			3
Every Livery-man			2
Every Yeoman or fre	eeman		1

These numbers were not very strictly adhered to, for in 1610 Melchezedeck Bradwood was allowed to retain six apprentices for printing Chrysostom's Works in Greek, 'provided he take no more on at the end of their terms.'

A Decree of the Star Chamber restricted a bookbinder from taking a new apprentice till his former apprentice had served out his time, but the Company deeming this impracticable, as it left the Master destitute of help in his work a long time after and led to abuses, made the more business-like ordinance that after an apprentice had served four years his Master might take another, and this was made applicable to booksellers and other tradesmen when their apprentices were within one year of the end of their terms. But so soon as this sensible provision came to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities they compelled the Company to declare it void. Journeymen were not allowed to bind apprentices, and Cuthbert Wright, a journeyman, was fined £5 for breaking this order; an exception was made in the case of one Henry Rogers, a youth, who was 'lame in one of his hands,' and incapable of exercising the mystery of printing, and Richard Ferbank, a journeyman, was allowed to take him as an apprentice on promising to employ him in selling books.

John Grismond was refused leave to bind an apprentice who was to serve his time with a notary public not a free citizen, 'because Grismond has already his due number of apprentices and because of the ill-consequence of seeming to countenance

foreigners.'

In the sixteenth century numerous orders were made by the Court of assistants for bookbinding, thus:

'English bookbinders free of the City shall be employed before strangers and foreigners, provided they work as well and as reasonable as others.

'The bookbinders to be punctual in performing and returning the work they receive at the time appointed or within three days after at furthest, unless a longer time shall be allowed on some reasonable cause.

'No greater sheets than is here specified shall be bored with a bodkin and stitched, viz.:

In	folio				40	sheets.
In	octavo				12	sheets.
In	decimo	se	xto		6	sheets.

'All above this number to be sewed upon a sewing press, the statutes passed in any one Session of Parliament excepted.

'No binder to employ any journeyman not free of the City or other than the wife, widow or children of a freeman.'

The provisions of the recent Musical Copyright Protection Act which have exercised the mind of some of the London Stipendiary Magistrates and other legal authorities, are but a revival of the powers formerly vested in the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, who were authorized 'to send proper persons as often as they see cause to search the shops, houses and warehouses of bookbinders or other suspected persons as well in the country as in the City of London for the discovery of counterfeit books and books disorderly printed.'

For some years after the incorporation the Master and Wardens were actively employed in putting in force their power of search and seizure, armed with a general warrant from the High Commissioners for seizing unlawful books and pamphlets, and apprehending the publishers.

Searchers were appointed to search the printinghouses every week and to ascertain:

'What every printer printeth, the numbers of the impressions, and for whom; how many apprentices every printer keeps, whether they are his own, or

other men's, or whether he keeps any workmen who are neither apprentices, journeymen, nor brothers admitted; whether any be kept in work, or a journeyman who is not free nor a brother of the Company; how many journeymen every printer retains; how many presses every printer employs.'

The searchers received an allowance for their dinners on search days, 'and if they are molested in the exercise of their duty their cost to be borne by

the Common Stock of the Company.'

The searches for books were by direction of the High Commissioners, and upon one occasion the Lord Mayor being deemed too zealous received a somewhat peremptory letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him not to interfere. Upon a complaint being made by a Member of the Company against another Member for printing one of his copies, the Warden would go with the Beadle to the printing-house and seize the whole impression, and bring it to the Hall until the complaint was determined. In one case copies of 'The Fees in Chancery' were seized and retained at the Hall for fifteen years, and only returned upon the application of Councillor Chaloner the regicide. After the Restoration attempts were made by the Company to prevent the importation and sending of illegal books from beyond the sea, and after many years they were partially successful.

The last recorded condemnation of books seized by the Company was in 1677, when the Bishop of London condemned a number of Quaker books.

From that date the powers of search appeared to have been seldom exercised unless to restrain the

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unlawful printing of books the property of the

Company.

The type or letter founders carried on their trade under very stringent regulations, and were bound under a bond with a substantial penalty not to cast any letter or character or deliver them without advertising the master and wardens in writing of the names of the parties for whom they were intended. As late as 1668 there were only four authorized letter founders.

In 1598 the Company made orders to prevent

the excessive price of books.

'I. That no new copies without pictures hereafter printed shall be sold at more than the following rates: those in Red, Roman and Italic, and in English with Roman and Italic, at a penny for two sheets; those in Brevier and Long Primer letters at a penny for one sheet and a half.

'2. Whoever refuses to abide by this order to forfeit all their right and interest in the books wherein they may offend which shall be printed and disposed of at the discretion of the master

wardens and assistants.'

These prices appear to have been adhered to for many years, since thirty-two years later an order was made that, if John Patrick would not sell 'The Life and Reign of Edward VI.' at 16d., a book 'which is, according to the order at 2 sheets a penny, any of the Company may then print it although it is his copy.'

The price of 'The History of Henry VII.' being complained of to the Court as unreasonable, that book was ordered by the board, and by Mr. Mat-

SHAKESPEARE ENTRIES FROM THE STATIONERS' REGISTER.

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thew Lownes's own consent, to be sold for 4s. in

quires.

The morals of the citizens were not neglected by the Company, for in 1689 Robert Stephens, the messenger of the press, was ordered to prosecute (at the expense of the Company) Benjamin Cragle and Joseph Streater, members of the Company, for printing and publishing a notorious bawdy book, entitled a play called 'Sodom, or the Quintessence of Debauchery, etc.'

The minute books of the proceedings of the Company to the seventeenth century, contain much varied information from which an interesting history

of the Company should be compiled.

CHARLES ROBERT RIVINGTON.

MICHAEL THE BISHOP IN PRAISE OF BOOKS.



EARLY a generation ago Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill wrote an account of an Ethiopic work, entitled 'Mashafa Falâsfâ Tabîbân,' 'the Book of the Wise Philosophers.' This is a collection of anecdotes and speeches attri-

buted, with more boldness than accuracy, to Socrates, and other great thinkers. The compiler was a bishop, whose name was Michael, and whose father, also named Michael, was an abbot. Of them nothing more is known. The book is a translation from the Arabic. The preface may also be a translation, but if original is sufficient to give Michael the Bishop a place amongst the goodly number of those who have loved and praised literature. It is in many ways interesting and worth the attention of the modern book-lover, as the following free translation from Dr. Cornill will show: 1

'In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate, in whom is our trust, and to whom we look for aid, we commence by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ to write the book of the Wise Philosophers, in which they speak each according to the measure of his knowledge. In this book are

^{&#}x27; Mashafa Falåsfå Tabîbån, Das Buch der Weisen Philosophen. Nach dem Aethiopischen untersucht von Carl Heinrich Cornill Dr. Phil' (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1875). 8vo, pp. 58.

gathered together many discourses of exhortation and doctrine. This book gladdens the heart and increases the understanding of the intelligent. In it the wise philosophers have told of noble and of famous deeds. It contains the wisdom of the wise and the pronouncements of the learned. It is a light of inquiry and a lamp of understanding. There is in it a chain of profit, and it is to be preferred to gold and silver and to precious stones. It is fairer than the flowers of the garden. What garden can be compared to it in the fairness of its aspect and in the fragrance of its scent? And this garden can be carried in the breast and sheltered in the heart. And this book can make thy understanding fruitful, and God the Almighty may enlarge thy understanding, and make thee to know many things, and make thy character noble, and give increase in all talents.

'And as often as thou readest in this book, it will add knowledge to thy knowledge, and it will add gentleness to thy nature and charm to thy tongue. It will make thy character noble and thy discourse just, and it will give thee prosperity in all thy undertakings. That which thou couldst not learn of thyself in all the days of thy life thou mayest learn in a month from the lips of the wise. Thou mayest learn in peace, by work and by zeal, by standing at the door of those who have succeeded and by sitting at the feet of men of learning. And this book is better than the heaping up of treasure, and its scent is sweeter than the loveliest perfumes, and it is good, and its voice is sincere. And this book will be at thy command in the night and in

the day, and be with thee in thy travels. It will remain with thee and depart not from thee. When thou callest, it will hasten to come. A messenger it is who brings thee joy. It is a constant help when thou art in the path of sorrow and ruin. It will add joy to thy joy, and it is a lightener of care for ever. And it gathers together for thee, so far as it can, that by which thou mayest help thyself in all the paths of thy sorrows, and it removes far from thee the pressure of thy grief, and the weariness of thy wakefulness and of thy sleep. Call to it in the time of thy need, and it will hearken to thee when thou standest and when thou sittest. And trust it in all thy actions. And hold it high for the day of thy rejoicing, for it is safer than wealth, and as a wife it is tender, and not like a harsh and unkind guardian.

'It is a pleasant narrator of that which has been, and an agreeable teacher. It does not hinder the vigils of the night, it does not weary, and much use does not render it tedious. It will laugh with thee in the day of thy promise and weep with thee in the days of thy instruction. And it is an eloquent although a dumb and silent monitor. If thou have not gained aught else from its preference, has it not kept thee from sitting with fools and from communing with the wicked? This book is a great inheritance for thee, and a shining glory, and a beloved brother, and a faithful servant, and a joy-bringing messenger. It is an increaser of intelligence for the intelligent. This book is a justly prized teacher. It gives joy to those who companion with it, and confides its secrets to those who dwell in union with it, and there is no limit to that which it proclaims.

If thou approach it comes near, and if thou goest far away it makes no reproach. Call and it will answer. Although thou make much use of it this book will not reproach thee, but come ever at thy command and teach what is useful, and keep thee from the stain of blemish, and hold thee back from sin and demerit, and keep thee in all thy days. And it is a narrator of events for thee in the time of thy solitude, and it will keep thee from attempting that which thou canst not do, and will restrain thee from disgraceful action. And it will save thee from heresy and apostasy and will guard thy tongue from offence.

'In meditation upon it much time may be profitably spent, and it will help thee in many and heavy cares. This book contains the whole circle of that which is to be learned, and distant friends are united by its common study. He who makes it his own gains profit, and he who reads it is richer than his neighbour. For this book is the fragrant

flower of the garden.'1

There is an anecdote in the 'Book of the Wise Philosophers' which breathes the same enthusiastic spirit: 'Once upon a time a wise man came to a wise man as he was alone in his dwelling and said: "O thou wise man! thou solitary in solitude." And

¹ In translating I have omitted the last paragraph of the preface in which, turning from his book of the wisdom of men, the bishop makes a pious reference to the Bible which does not properly belong to his subject. ¹I say that he who reads the divine books will not fail of profit, for the Holy Scriptures are a mine of knowledge and of wisdom. For the soul is an intellectual and corporeal faculty by which man is able to grasp intellectual things by the mind and corporeal by the body.'

the other replied: "I am not solitary, for I am with many wise men, and with whichever of them I desire to speak he will speak with me." And he stretched forth his hand and brought many books out of a chest, whilst he said: "Here Galen tells us the truth and Hippocrates instructs, and Socrates teaches, and Plato discourses, and Aristotle testifies, and Aklandînôs speaks in parables, and Hermes gives answers, and Porphyry exhorts, and Gregory discourses, and David teaches, and Paul preaches, and the Gospel proclaims the glad tidings. And whichever of these I desire will converse with me and I with him, and I have not the least uncer-

tainty." There are some turns and phrases in this eulogy that reminds us of another bishop, Richard de Bury. the author—if he were the author—of the 'Philobiblon,' in which we are told that books 'are masters who instruct us without rod, or ferule, without angry words, without clothes or money. If you come to them they are not asleep; if you ask and inquire of them they do not withdraw themselves; they do not chide if you make mistakes; they do not laugh at you if you are ignorant.' But Bishop Michael's voice seems to come from a remote past, and his rhetoric is less elaborate and more childlike. He speaks of one book only, but it is clear that to him it meant what literature means to us. It is a book that contains the quintessence of the wisdom of the wise, the criticism of life by those who best knew its superficial and its inner meaning, the record of great deeds and the inspiring thoughts of great minds. And, echoing the words of the good Bishop

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Michael, who has been dust and ashes these long centuries, we may say that Literature 'is better than the heaping up of treasure, and its scent is sweeter than the loveliest perfumes, and it is good and its voice is sincere.'

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

A CHESTER BOOKSELLER, 1667-1700: SOME OF HIS CUSTOMERS AND THE BOOKS HE SOLD THEM.



OME eighteen years ago Mr. W. H. Rylands read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire a paper on the booksellers and stationers of Warrington in the middle of the seventeenth century, as the result of

the discovery of their wills with a long inventory of the books in the stock of one of them at the time of his death. The paper and the inventory with bibliographical notes were published in the transactions of the society for the year 1888, and are worth the attention of students of the book trade of that period.

A very similar record has lately come before me at the Record Office, in the form of a schedule attached to some Chancery proceedings, and though the period is later by some fifty years, and the books the schedule mentions are confined almost entirely to one class, this later list has one or two points of individual interest, and affords an opportunity of comparing the prices of books during the period of the Revolution and after the Restoration.

The document is one of a series in a Chancery suit brought by the Stationers' Company against two booksellers, Robert Wellington of London and John Minshull of the city of Chester, in the year 1699, for infringing the Company's privilege of printing the Psalms in metre, and for importing and selling other books which the Company claimed

as its exclusive property.

The Company's bill of complaint recited the various patents from the days of John Day, upon which it based its claim, and incidentally it introduces us to a patentee who is very little heard of, one Verney Alley, to whom in the thirty-third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was granted the reversion of John Day's patent after his death and that of his son Richard. Whether this curiously named individual ever succeeded to the title, is of little moment, as on the succession of James I. the Company secured this and a good many other patents previously in the hands of individual printers.

Both the defendants to the suit put in answers, but those of John Minshull are of the more interest, in the first place, because he sets out a few facts about himself that are worth noting, and also by reason of the schedule attached to them. It seems likely that John Minshull was a native of Cheshire, but from which of the numerous families of that name in the county he came has not been discovered. He sets out in his first answer, that he was apprenticed to a London bookseller, Mr. Peter Bodvell or Bodrell, who was burnt out in the Great Fire of 1666, and then removed to the city of Chester, where he died shortly afterwards, before John Minshull's term of apprenticeship was complete. Minshull goes on to say that he purchased his freedom from the stationers of Chester, that he

had carried on the business of a bookseller in the city for five and twenty years, and that he considered that he was free to do so without the inter-

ference of the London company.

According to Timperley, John Minshull died in 1712, but whether he is also to be identified with the John Minshull who was Mayor of Chester in 1711, is not quite clear. At any rate, from the fact of his having had books specially printed for him, we may take it that he was in a large way of business.

But to return to the Chancery proceedings. In obedience to the order of the Court, John Minshull, after delaying as long as possible, put in a schedule of certain classes of books he had in stock, and of certain books that he had sold, to whom he had sold them, and at what prices. First of all he set out those he had in stock, under three heads, those in quires, that is to say unbound, those bound, and those stitched, i.e., pamphlets.

Leaving out of account the Common Prayers, Psalms and Psalters, the following items amongst the

books in quires may be noted:

78 Weeks Pr[e]parac[i]ons 1st part.

63 Weeks Pr[e]parac[i]ons both parts.

56 Ovid's Metamorph ose's.

227 Corderius's.

75 English Examples.

100 more English Examples.

63 Hill's Secretary's Guide.

82 Ovid's Epistles. 100 Hool's Sententia.

25 Sturmes Epistles.

Under the other two heads of 'bound' and 'stitcht,' in addition to all the above may be added:

13 Lillies Rules. 7 Catos.

From this list it is clear that John Minshull was a large dealer in school books, for, with the exception of the 'Week's Preparation,' which was a devotional work, all these were of an educational character. It is also interesting to find on comparison with the inventory published by Mr. Rylands, that several of these books had been standard educational works for more than half a century.

It is almost impossible to identify the work referred to as 'Corderius.' Maturinus Corderius, who died at Geneva in 1564, was the author of several Latin school books which were translated into English, and of which there were numerous editions. Perhaps the best known was that entitled:

'Maturinus Corderius's School-Colloquies English and Latine. Divided into several clauses; Wherein the propriety of both Languages is kept. That Children by the help of their Mother-Tongue, may the better learn to speak Latine in ordinary Discourse.

... By Charles Hool, Mr of Arts of Lin. Col. Ox. Teacher of a private Grammer School, betwixt Goldsmith's Alley in Red Cross-street, and Maiden-head-Court in Aldersgate Street, London.

... London, Printed by Sarah Griffin, for the Company of Stationers. 1657.'

This was an octavo of 414 pages, and four leaves of preliminary matter. A copy in the British Museum has a note on the fly-leaf, 'Thomas Phillpott me tenet pre. 3⁸ 4^d.' Charles Hoole, the translator, dated his dedicatory epistle, 'Novemb. 4th 1652,' so that in all probability the first edition bore the date 1653.

There was also a smaller work entitled:

'Corderius Dialogues translated Grammatically... Done chiefly for the good of Schools to be used according to the directions set downe in the book called Ludus Literarius, or, The Grammar Schoole, London, Printed by Anne Griffin, for the Assignes of Joan Man and Benjamin Fisher. 1636.'

This was an octavo of only 160 pages, the work of John Brinsley, the author of 'Ludus Literarius.'

Another of the books named in Minshull's schedule as 'Hool's Sententia,' was usually bound with the same author's translation of Corderius, and its proper title was:

'Sententiæ Pueriles. Sentences for Children, English and Latine. Collected out of sundry Authors long since by Leonard Culman and now translated into English by Charles Hoole. | London, Printed for the Company of Stationers. 1658.

It was a small octavo of forty-two leaves, with the English rendering printed in italic type opposite the Latin text, which was in Roman.

Even more difficult to identify than 'Corderius' is the work referred to as 'English Examples.' No copy of any book with a title resembling this of so early a date has yet been found. The only thing approaching it is a work entitled:

'English Examples to Lily's Grammar Rules, By William Willymot. Fourth Edition. Printed for the use of Eton School, 1727.'

which was perhaps modelled on the lines of the earlier work. There is also a later edition called:

'Exempla Minora, or New English Examples. To be rendered into Latin. Adapted to the Rules of the Latin Grammar, Lately printed at Eton, For the Use of the Lower Forms. A New Edition, Revised. Eton, Printed by J. Pote. MDCGLXV.'

The second part of Minshull's schedule sets out the number of copies he had sold of various works, to whom he had sold them, and at what prices.

In his reply to the bill of complaint, he pointed out that he could not possibly account for every copy he had sold, as in many cases he had sold a single copy and had made no note of the transaction. So that the return which he did make represented so much of his wholesale trade as he thought it expedient to disclose. The names occurring in it are those of various booksellers in Lancashire, Cheshire and the border counties of Wales. They were, Mr. John Williams of Ruthin, Mrs. Mary Ovens of Kannershmeed [?], Mr. Onesephorus Wright of Kannershmeed, Mr. Simon Lloyd of Mold, Mr. Thomas Davies of Denbigh, Mr. Richard Parry of Bangor, Mr. Hugh Thomas of St. Asaph, Mr. Charles Vaughan of Bella [Bellan, co. Denbigh], Mr. Henry Fisher of Wrexham, Mr. Ephraim Johnson [no place named], Mr. Hughs of Benmorris [? Beaumorris], Mrs. Stones of Namptwich [Nantwich], Mrs. Powell of Flint, Mr. Wright of Namptwich, and Mr. Taylor of Whitchurch.

Of these, Mr. Ephraim Johnson was Minshull's largest customer. He took no fewer than three hundred grammars, two hundred Psalters, two dozen Common prayers, one hundred and twenty-five 'Lillies Rules,' fifty 'Corderius's,' a dozen 'Tully's Epistles,' a dozen 'Catos,' and twenty-five 'Aesop's Fables.' Hazlitt has recorded in his 'Collection and Notes' (second series, p. 595; third series, p. 246), two books written by Zachary Taylor each of which bears the imprint: 'London, Printed for John Jones

at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard; and Ephraim Johnson, bookseller in Manchester.' No doubt he was in a large way of business and Minshull thought that Johnson was sufficiently widely known to make it unnecessary to give his address. Next to him in importance was perhaps Mr. Taylor of Whitchurch, who in addition to fifty grammars and accidences took two dozen 'Ovids,' twenty-five 'Aesops,' and two dozen of the 'Weeks Preparation.' None of the others seem to call for notice, but it is interesting to find English schoolbooks selling in Wales to the extent which these

figures show.

The sums placed against the various items in this schedule clearly represent the wholesale price ruling in the trade at that time; but Minshull apparently was not bound by any hard and fast figures, but allowed other considerations to weigh with him in dealing with his customers. For instance, the work known as 'Corderius' is found ranging from a fraction under fivepence a copy, which is the average price of the fifty copies sold to Johnson, to ninepence halfpenny a copy in the case of the eighteen copies taken by John Williams, but as these last are described as being 'bound,' the difference may be accounted for in that way. Again, in the case of the 'English Examples,' Minshull sold three copies to Thomas Davis of Denbigh for two shillings and sixpence, that is, tenpence a copy, but Wright of Kannershmeed and Fisher of Wrexham each bought six at the rate of ninepence a copy, while Mrs. Stones of Nantwich made an even better bargain, obtaining half-a-dozen for four shillings, or only eightpence a

copy. So, too, in the case of 'Æsop's Fables,' Fisher of Wrexham had to give thirteen and fourpence for sixteen copies whereas Johnson and Taylor both obtained twenty-five copies for fourteen shillings.

The most expensive books were the octavo Common Prayers, which averaged two shillings a copy, and Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' which sometimes exceeded a shilling. On the other hand, the editions of Cato and Tully must have been very small books, as one averages only threepence halfpenny a copy, and the other fourpence. The remainder nearly all averaged between eightpence and tenpence a copy.

Many of these books, more especially the works of Ovid, Tully and Cato, were undoubtedly foreign editions. It was one of the results of the monopoly held by the Stationers' Company, that by keeping the market starved, it enhanced the price of its own editions, and consequently dealers met this by importing foreign printed copies, which they sold at much cheaper rates, and consequently in much greater numbers. And not only were these foreign books cheaper, but they were often much better printed than the English editions. To mention only one at random, a duodecimo edition of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' was printed at Amsterdam by Ian Blaew in 1650, with an engraved title-page. It was a beautifully-printed little book, the types were clear and readable, while the press work was excellent. Indeed, the English edition of the same period will not bear comparison with it. According to a note in the British Museum copy the Amsterdam edition cost one shilling and fourpence, so that it may well have been the edition sold so largely by Minshull.

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SCHEDULE OF SALES.

	OCHEDOLE OF OTLES.			
June 24,	To Mr John Williams of Ruthin 24	L	S.	d.
1699.	Gramers bound at		OI	00
1099.	24 Construings bound & stitcht vizt		01	00
	1 doz. bod & 1 stitcht	0	08	0
	18 Corderius's bound 9° 6° per doz.	0	14	3
	12 Accidents 6 at 5°. 12 sti. at 3°		-4	3
	in all [A puzzling entry.]		8	0
	6 Com: Pray 120 bod at 12d each .		6	0
	4 Ovids Metam 6d, 18-3d		5	0
	20 Engl. Examp. at 10d	0	16	0
	6 Catos stitcht		01	9
	3 doz Psalters at 8º	1	4	ó
	3 weeks prparacons compleat		3	0
	3		3	
1699.	To Mrs Mary Ovens of Kannersh-			
	meed 6 Grammers	0	5	0
	6 Accidents	0	2	0
	6 Construings	0	2	0
	4 psalters	0	2	8
January 23:	To Mr Symon Lloyd of Mould 3			
1699.	Grammars. 6d	0	2	0
**	3 Accidents stitcht			101
	To Mr Thomas Davis of Denbigh 3			
	English Examples	0	2	6
June 27	To Mr Onesephorus Wright of Kan-			
1699.	nershmeed 1 doz Gramers 6d .	0	9	0
	6 Grammers with Construing	0	6	6
	I Doz: Psalters	0	7	6
	4 Corderius's	00	3	0
	6 Cato st. (i.e. stitched)	00	1	9
	6 English examples	00	4	. 6
	12 Accidents st	00	3	3
	6 Corderius's	00		. 6
	12 Psalters	00	7	
	24 Accidents st	00	6	6
	24 Grammers	00	19	0
	24 Psalters	00	14	. 0
	24 Construings	00	06	0
	m 14: D: 1 D 4 D	-		
Novemb.	To Mr Richard Parry of Bangor. 6			
1699.	English Examples	00	4	. 6

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		_		
	5 Corderius's	00	5.	d.
	18 Lilly's Rules	00	3	5
	6 Com. Prayers in 12 psalmes, 6 no	00	5	9
	psalmes	0	6	0
	12 Accidents	0	4	6
	6 psalters	0	4	0
	6 Grammers	0	4	6
Octr. 13	To Mr Hugh Thomas of St Asoph. 18		_	_
1700.	Psalters	0	12	0
,	18 Grammers		13	6
	18 Accidentes	0	-	6
	6 Corderius's st		3	0
	16 C 1 W 1 (D 11 AC	_		_
1700.	Mr Charles Vaughan of Bella 18 Gram-			
	mers	0	13	9
	3 doz Psalters	1	4	0
	2 doz Accidents	0	7	0
	18 Lily's Rules	0	6	0
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A NOTE ON VARIATIONS IN CERTAIN COPIES OF THE 'RETURNE OF PASQUILL.'



HEN an editor of a book published in the sixteenth or seventeenth century discovers, as he almost always can discover if he takes the trouble, variations in different copies of what is apparently the same edition, he

may perhaps be pardoned, if the variants seem of little moment, for suppressing all mention of the fact and arbitrarily selecting one copy as his standard.

At the same time he must be singularly devoid of curiosity if he does not wonder how such things come about—wearily, if he is a simple editor, interested in the book from the purely literary point of view—earnestly, even enthusiastically, if he is at the same time however little of a bibliographer.

The subject has recently received considerable attention, especially, as is natural, in the case of more important books, and various explanations have been put forward as the reason of these variations, every one of which is no doubt the true explanation in certain cases. Sometimes they are caused by corrections being made while the book is at press, or by more and less corrected sheets being gathered and bound up indiscriminately. At other times, as was recently suggested by Mr. Baxter, they are no

doubt due to letters being dragged out during the inking and their places filled up by the printer according to his own idea of what was most suitable. In other cases it is evident that the book was set up in duplicate, either entirely, in order to save time in the working-off or for some other reason, or partially, in order to cancel or correct a particular passage or to make good some accident of the press.

It is with a somewhat curious case of this partial duplication that I have to deal at present. It is to be found in 'The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange . . . 1589' (quarto, A-D4).

The book was published without the name of the author or printer, but it is attributed, on fairly good evidence, to Thomas Nashe. It is the second of three anti-Martinist tracts, all evidently from the same pen and issuing from the same printing-house, which appeared between August, 1589, and July, 1590, and which, though to a modern reader it may seem somewhat surprising, were evidently very popular and exerted no small influence at the time.

A few months ago, having occasion to compare Grosart's reprint of this tract from a copy in the possession of Mr. Huth, with the copies at the British Museum, I was struck by what was apparently a great irregularity in the correctness with which the original was followed. On certain pages the reprint corresponded exactly with the old edition, while on others I found numerous divergences, in spelling, in the use of capital letters and in other small points, besides a few variations in reading.

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This naturally led to further investigation, and I examined all the copies accessible to me. The results are curious and perhaps of sufficient interest—not, of course, from any importance in the book itself, but from the light they may throw on other

similar problems—to be made public.

I could indeed have wished to be able to offer a more complete and satisfactory statement of the matter, based on a study of a larger number of copies, but without the side by side comparison of certain copies which it is at present impossible to bring together, it would in any case be impossible to arrive at a perfectly satisfactory result. It seems best therefore to say what can be said at present, in the hope that anyone to whom the opportunity may later offer itself will complete the investigation.

To put the matter as shortly as possible: I find that the seven copies which I have seen fall into three groups, which differ by having certain pages in each printed from a different setting-up as compared with the corresponding pages in one or both of the other groups. The members of each group

are apparently identical throughout.

Group A comprises two copies at the British Museum (96. b. 15. (8.) and C. 37. d. 49), one in the Guildhall Library (N. 2. 2), and one in the

library of Lambeth Palace (xxx. 6. 26).

Group B, one in the Bodleian Library (Malone, 566). The copy in the Huth Library, from which Grosart worked, appears, so far as it is possible to judge from the reprint, to be identical with this.

Group C is represented by one copy at the British

Museum (3932. d. 7) and one at Lambeth Palace

(xxx. 6. 25).

I should, perhaps, state that I do not intend by the letters used to refer to the groups to claim any precedence of the one over the other, or to imply that A is in any sense the original of which B and C are variants. The letters are used merely for convenience of reference and are arbitrarily assigned.

Examples of groups A and C can, as will be noticed, be compared side by side both at the British Museum and at Lambeth; but I know of no one library which contains copies of both A and B or B and C. In comparing these I have had, therefore, at the cost of introducing a certain risk of error, to depend on notes of the peculiarities of the copies and on photographs of one or two pages. In most cases, however, the pages are so obviously similar or dissimilar in the different copies that I do not fear that a side by side comparison, if this should ever be possible, will give a substantially different result.

On comparing the three groups we find that so far as title-page, catch-words, and general appearance are concerned, there is absolute identity. The variations of reading are few, and for the most part unimportant. I give the chief:

 A_2 , 1. 32, white bearde A, B: white head C. In the Lambeth copy of C a cancel slip with the

word 'beard' has been pasted over 'head.'

 A_3 , 1. 9, not farre from thence A, B: the next doore by C.

¹ The catchword of D_2 has, however, dropped out in the copies which belong to group A.

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1. 11, run away. A, B: run away, and left his wife to the charitie of the Parrish C.

 A_3^v , 1. 31, biace of Rome AB: biace of the Church of Rome C.

 B_1 , 1. 5, ende where it beganne AB: ende at where it began C. In the Lambeth copy of C the word 'at' is blotted out in ink. This is a correction made at press, for the rest of the page is evidently from the same setting-up in A and C. Note the two letters added to 'began' to save trouble in justifying the line. This correction looks as if C were earlier than A.

 B_x^v , l. 29, Martin bags A: Martin brags B, C. This correction looks as if B were later than A, for on this page A and B are from the same setting-up.

 B_2 , 1. 17, the Maister and the Seruant A, B: the Maister and Seruant C. The reading of A and B is evidently better, in the context, than that of C.

B₃, l. 2, this Land B: the Lande A, C.

1. 6, or B: nor A, C.

 B_4 , l. 31, she should A: he should B: hee should C. The reference is to Christ. A and B are, on this page, from the same setting-up, and the reading of C seems to be a correction of C. If so, C must have been later than C.

 B_A^{v} , 1. 4, tarte taste B: taste A, C.

and A, B: and and C. On this page A and C are from the same setting-up, and the reading of A seems to be a correction, again indicating that C is earlier than A.

1. 14, neuer sought B: neither sought A, C.

1. 23, greeting A, B: geeting C, again indicating that C is earlier than A. In order to make room

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for the added r the word 'minde' of C is printed 'mind' in A.

Fortunately we need not consider how far these variations represent corrections and how far they are merely accidental, nor yet whether they are due to the author or to the printer. In any case it is evident that, if they were intentional changes, not one is of sufficient length to necessitate the resetting of the whole page, or even of a large part of the page, in which it occurs. If then we find that these pages and others have, in certain copies, been reset throughout, we are forced to seek some other reason.

Turning now to variations other than those in wording, we notice especially the following: (1) different spellings; (2) different distribution into paragraphs; (3) differences in the line-beginnings, as well where there has been no redistribution of paragraphs or other change which could cause this as where there has been; (4) differences in the use of the plain and flourished founts of Italic capitals. This last distinction is fortunately an easy one to observe, as the tract is in the form of a dialogue and the speakers' names, indicated by PAS2, and MAR. or MARF., for Pasquill and Marforius, occur several times on almost every page.

Such differences as these can only be explained by different setting-up. We cannot regard such a variant as the 'Sectes . . . spronge vp' of $C(A_3)$ for the 'Sects . . . sprong vppe' of A and B as a correction, nor can we suppose that the interchange of plain and flourished founts of Italic capitals was prompted by an aesthetic desire for uniformity; for even if we neglect the inherent improbability of

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any such care being taken in the printing of an anonymous polemical tract issued in haste to meet a popular movement, we are confronted by such cases as that on $B_I^{\,v}$, where A and B read Martin and Machiauell, while C reads Martin and Machiauell.

Comparing examples of groups A and C page by page, we find that while certain pages are clearly from the same setting-up of type, as is shown by the evidence of broken letters, similarity of spacing and identity of relative position of the words, other pages differ in such ways as I have mentioned.

Thus, in A and C the following pages differ: A_2^{v} , A_3 , A_3^{v} , A_4 , A_4^{v} , B_1^{v} , B_2 , B_4 . All the others

are evidently from the same setting-up.

Turning now to groups A and B we find similar differences, but occurring on a different set of pages, those in which A and B differ being B_1 , B_2 , B_3 , B_4 , C_1 , and all of D, with the exception of D_3 and D_4 (D_4 is blank).

It will be at once apparent that wherever B differs from A, C corresponds with A, and wherever C differs from A, B corresponds with A; there are in no case more than two settings-up, though we have

three different combinations of them.

Another fact worth noting, is that the sheets of the different printings do not appear to have been mixed. The copies of A seem to correspond throughout, so do those of C, and so also, so far as it is possible to speak with certainty, do those of B. This would seem to indicate that the three groups were not produced simultaneously.

If this is so, it would be interesting to determine the order in which they were produced, but we have hardly sufficient evidence to enable us to do this with certainty. The instances of correction which I have already noticed on B_I and B_4 , where A and C are from the same setting-up, seem to show that C is earlier than A, while those on B_I and B_4 , where A and B are from the same setting-up, indicate that A is earlier than B. The evidence hardly amounts to proof, and if any theory accounted for the variations in the three groups, but demanded another order of production, we should be unwise to reject it on this ground alone.

In order to make the relationship of the groups as clear as possible I give my results in tabular form; the bracket indicates the agreement of the groups which it joins, while the short line shows that the particular page differs in the group under which it is placed, from the corresponding page in other groups. For convenience A is placed in the centre.

B.	A.	C.	B. A .
_		_	C, -
	[blank]		C' ·
-	[]	-	C _g
_		_	C, -
	_	-	Ca ·
_			C3.
_			C,
_			C.*
_	_	_	D, -
_	_	-	D, -
	_		D. – —
-	_	_	D
	-		D _s -
			Day -
			D ₄ -
_	_		D4 [blank]
			R. B. MCKER

THE EARLY PRINTERS OF KÖLN.



T may be that many to whom the history of printing at Köln is closely associated with Henry Bradshaw and his methods of research will expect to find in this volume 1 a solution of some of the very numerous typograph-

ical problems associated with the earliest presses in the City of the Three Kings. But when on page 8 such persons read Dr. Voullième's assertion that the division of Ulrich Zel's early quartos into groups marked off by successive modifications in the type is of small value in determining their chronological sequence, they may at first be bewildered, but will soon realize that the author has approached his task from another point of view. For, small as are the numbers of those who study these subjects, there is, nevertheless, a marked tendency among them to separate into two partially independent groups. Students of the one class are primarily concerned with the printers and what the Germans call Druckerpraxis: their aim is by means of the books to get behind them at the men who

Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Inkunabelbibliographie von Ernst Voullième. (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde. xxiv.) Bonn, 1903. 8°. pp. cxxxiv. 543.

made them, and to reconstruct the work of their hands as it was gradually developed and modified. They tend more and more, perhaps too much, to look on the books themselves rather as pawns in the game, than as objects of individual interest in themselves and for themselves. To this school, represented by the names of Bradshaw, Claudin and Dziatzko, the other group, of which Dr. Voullième is a leading light, is more or less sharply, yet perhaps half unconsciously, opposed. These, the bibliographers properly so called, are primarily interested with the books themselves, and they endeavour to discover as many as possible and to describe them with all possible fullness and accuracy, with one notable exception. For while a follower of Bradshaw is keenly concerned in investigating the make-up of books which have no printed signatures, because in that way of all others is most light thrown on the ways of the printer, the school of Mlle. Pellechet and Dr. Voullième usually ignores this point altogether. I must admit that, for my part, I belong to the Bradshaw school; to me it is of far greater interest to know when and how Zel abandoned the use of four pinholes to make his quarto pages register, or the exact stage at which the ho with a pointed h replaced the same combination with a rounded h, than to learn the exact number of quartos which he printed, with their titles set out in alphabetical order, and the number of leaves in each. But that does not prevent me from a profound admiration for the care, research, and judgement displayed by Dr. Voullième in this book of his; and the existence of the list just men-

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tioned tempts me to range myself on his side for an instant in order to give a few curious statistics as to the position of the great English libraries in

regard to these same quartos.

Ninety-three is the number of them enumerated by Dr. Voullième, seventy-nine of which are mentioned by Hain. Of the remaining fourteen, two (Nos. 963, 1154) seem to be mere variants, differing only in the heading on the first page; but another ('De magnificando meritorie festum praesentationis'), which I have been unable to find in this book, has to be added, so that the final total is ninety-two separate editions, and two variants. It can hardly be supposed that this is absolutely exhaustive: I believe, for instance, that there is a larger number of editions of the 'Summa confessionum,' by Antoninus, than is admitted by Dr. Voullième; while the existence of two of the ninety-two rests solely on a casual mention by Hain (H. 262 and 1162b), and may be considered doubtful. It is certainly a remarkable fact, and one hardly to be paralleled elsewhere, that the four great English public libraries (the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and John Rylands Library) contain among them copies of every early Zel quarto whose existence is certain, with two exceptions only—one a book omitted by Hain (V., No. 910) which is in the Köln Stadtbibliothek, the other one of the variants (V. 1154) which is to be found only at Trier. Thus English students are in an exceptionally good position with regard to these books of Zel.

It would take too long to enumerate even a small

proportion of the additions to our knowledge, especially in the introduction, or the corrections of his predecessors' blunders which we owe to Dr. Voullième. One or two of the more interesting points can alone be here noted. First of all another point of some interest concerning these same Zel quartos may be touched upon. Of the three main groups into which they fall, we have had hitherto dates attached to the first and third only. That some of the books in the earliest group are later than 1467 is clear, but as the next clue brings us to the year 1472, in which some of the books in the third group were printed, it was not easy to say how far they reached, or what was the exact period covered by the middle group. But we now learn that the copy at Breslau of Hain 1162 (V. 121), a book belonging to this group, contains a note of its purchase at Köln in 1469 for half a florin rhenish. Thus we obtain a limit for group I, a date round which we may arrange group 2, and a valuable addition to our knowledge of Zel's career. Several other rubricated dates mentioned by Dr. Voullième are of equal or greater interest. Thus the date 1474 in the München copy of the 'Cato Maior' (V. 327) in the type of the 'Historia S. Albani,' is the first of any kind connected with this mysterious press, and the date 1472 in a copy of 'Dares Phrygius,' also at München (V. 360), does the like service for the unidentified printer of 'Dares.' Then, although from internal evidence it is clear that several books in the type of Conrad Winters precede his first dated production of 1476 (for instance, the two Latin Bibles, boldly assigned

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by Dr. Copinger to 1466 or 1469), it is not unwelcome to know of the date 1475 written in a copy of the 'Quadragesimale,' by Leonardus de

Utino (V. 744).

One of the pieces of information most interesting to English readers is the passage in which Dr. Voullième has finally run to earth the Theodoricus who was printing in 1485 'infra sedecim domos.' He has been, without a particle of evidence, identified with the Theodoricus Rood de Colonia, who was at Oxford from 1481 (perhaps from 1478) to 1485, and this myth has been accepted even by Mr. Madan in his book on the 'Early Oxford Press' (p. 243). It is now completely demolished. By publishing in his 'Monumenta' a page from a book signed by one Conrad von Boppard, Herr Burger showed the identity of his types with those of Theodoricus, and the relation of the two men to each other and to Arnold ter Hoernen is now fully elucidated in the present work. To put it as shortly as possible, Theodoricus or Dietrich Molner was a son of Gertrud Molner, subsequently the wife of Arnold ter Hoernen, and this same Gertrud, after ter Hoernen's death in 1483 or 1484, was married a third time to Conrad von Boppard, whose surname was Welker. Dr. Voullième has raised the number of the books printed by these two men to fifteen, and is probably right in assuming that the majority of them, including those dated 1487 and 1488, are the work of Conrad rather than of Theodoricus. He is, however, mistaken in asserting the identity of their types with those of ter Hoernen; the middle type of the three, at least, is

not only cast on a smaller body, but on a close examination small differences will be found in almost every letter of the lower case, so that the

whole type must have been recut.

Here, then, is a case in which a perplexing problem has been solved, and a similar instance is the lucky discovery of a single leaf of a breviary whereby it has become possible to assign to one of the most obscure of Köln printers, Peter von Olpe, a small group of books hitherto masterless. The leaf in question contains on the same page the type in which these books are printed, and that used in the books signed by Peter von Olpe; and this is an excellent instance of how an investigation of old bindings may lead to important results. But the difficulties and puzzles yet unreded are many; not the least of these is the history of the press of Nicolaus Gotz, and in this Dr. Voullième does not help us much, though he incidentally notes that Gotz left Köln not later than 1479: consequently the Bible in his type, dated May, 1480, must be the work of an anonymous successor, unless the absence of Gotz were merely temporary. On the much-disputed point of the reading in the motto of Gotz' metal printer's mark, Dr. Voullième accepts the reading 'mre,' not 'in te' or 'uite' (Sola spes mea mre-marie-virginis gratia). I confess that to me, as to Bradshaw, and to others with whom I have consulted, any other reading than 'in te' seems almost impossible. What is wanted to get these books of Gotz into some kind of sequence is that they should be gone through carefully, the amazing diversity of 'sorts' tabulated in some way,

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and their provenance discovered where possible; thus alone can any definite result be hoped for.

Another difficulty, which probably needs some lucky find to elucidate it, is the relations between Johann at Köln and Johann of Köln, the former being the elder Koelhoff, and the latter the wellknown associate of Wendelin of Speier at Venice. The gothic text type with which Koelhoff began his career in 1472, and that used by Wendelin first in the same year are so closely akin as to be indistinguishable, save for a hyphen, till they are placed side by side, when a slight difference in the face is apparent. Even the paper seems to have been copied, as one of the sorts used by Koelhoff bears the distinctively Italian watermark of the scales, though treated in a German fashion. I am glad to see that Dr. Voullième has corrected a blunder of mine by rightly attributing to Koelhoff an edition of Cicero's 'Rhetorica' (V. 337), which I had, largely on account of this watermark, assigned to the Venetian printer.

The edition of the 'Manipulus curatorum,' printed by Conrad Winters in his type 4, a page of which is reproduced by Holtrop on plate 125 of his 'Monuments Typographiques des Pays-Bas,' seems to have caused Dr. Voullième some perplexity. The same type was used in 1495 by Snellaert at Delft, but this 'Manipulus' is so obviously some fifteen years earlier in date that its ascription to Snellaert is not to be thought of. If Dr. Voullième had seen the 'Missale Coloniense,' printed by Conrad Winters in 1481, he would have found the type there; when this fact is grasped the words of

Holtrop, on page 119 of his 'Monuments,' become clear at once, and the note of Campbell, on which Dr. Voullième relies, is seen to be fully worthy of

that incompetent muddler.

Another small matter on which I am inclined to join issue with Dr. Voullième concerns the curious set of engravings on metal in the manière criblée, which is found first in an edition of the 'Horologium devotionis,' printed by Zel, and again, in another edition of the same book by Landen, with the addition of eight subjects which, in Zel's book, are represented by woodcuts. Dr. Voulliéme thinks that these were two sets of cliches from old plates bought independently by Zel and Landen. I do not think that there is any indisputable evidence that the use of cliches was known at this period (the small initials used at Venice at the end of the century were probably cast like type), and I suspect that the archaic appearance of these engravings is deceptive, and that the set was being made for Zel at the time of his 'Horologium,' about 1490. As so often happened, the artist did not work quickly enough for him, and he supplied the missing plates with woodcuts hastily fashioned to fill their room. In the interval, some five or six years perhaps, between the edition of Zel and that of Landen, the set had been completed and had passed into Landen's hands at a period when Zel's press was almost entirely inactive. It is, however, certain that Landen set little store by these engravings from the barbarous way in which he nailed them down on wooden blocks to print them.

As Landen's name has been mentioned, another

point in which he is concerned may be touched on. Dr. Voullième speaks of a collection of tracts on subjects relating to the Carthusians, one of which contains the words: 'Impressum per fratres domus Colonie.' He infers that at the period (1510-1515) to which these books belong a printing press was at work in the Carthusian Monastery at Köln. I have not seen this particular volume, but a good many similar Carthusian tracts exist in English libraries, all printed at about the same date in octavo, and all in the same types, which are those of Landen; and it may well be that Landen held a commission from the Carthusians to print these

books at their expense.

What led Dr. Voullième to the mention of this supposed Carthusian press was his exposure of an absurd blunder of my own, by which I assumed the existence in 1475 of a press in the house of the Brothers of Common Life, that press being transferred to Brussels in 1476. I was misled by a belief, the reasons for which are not worth stating, that the 1475 edition of Gerson's 'Opuscula' had in its colophon the place of printing given as Köln. This is not the case; the book in question, as well as the other tracts in the same type, were printed at Brussels, and give an earlier type (clearly imported from Köln) and an earlier date for the Nazareth press there than any hitherto recognized. None the less it is extremely puzzling to know why the Brussels printers should have dropt this comparatively decent fount in the middle of a book (Campbell, 1503A, in which the first four pieces are in the Gerson type, the fifth and sixth in the

ordinary Brussels type) to replace it by one wholly inferior, which they continued to use for eight or ten years. Another supposed press of the Brothers of Common Life is spoken of by Holtrop, who quotes a story that they were printing at Louvain before the arrival there of John of Westphalia in 1474. Apparently it was to this press that J. P. A. Madden assigned the 'Homiliarius' and the Sarum Breviary, which all other writers have assigned to Köln. Dr. Voulliéme, however, considers this general ascription 'highly improbable,' and is indeed very chary of admitting to his lists books which have not very good credentials as to their origin. For instance, he passes over almost in silence (see his No. 641) a group of books which are almost certainly Coloniensia. The largest of them is a 'Breviarium Trevirense' which was attributed by Dr. Falk, entirely without evidence or probability, to the Marienthal press; there are besides this three letters of indulgence, and a book entitled 'Laudes B.M.V. cum glossa grammaticali.' The style and productions of this press attach it closely to that of Arnold Therhoernen, with which it is partly contemporary.

These scattered remarks will at least serve to show how interesting a field is that which Dr. Voullième has covered; and I cannot take leave of his book without expressing my admiration for his extremely careful and sound work, the accuracy and clearness of the printing, and the excellent judgement which is everywhere displayed. The student whose interests are more purely typographical has for the first time a reasonably complete

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conspectus of all the books of the period, and know-ledge of their whereabouts; and Dr. Voulliéme's labours may lead some one of them to give us what is so much wanted, a complete atlas of Köln types with their variations, whereby the inner history of the presses in that city may be made as clear as their results have been made by Dr. Voulliéme.

R. PROCTOR.

RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE.

HERE appeariment of ingly of publica

HERE is so much of interest always appearing in France in every department of literature that it is exceedingly difficult to do justice to the publications of several months in a brief article, and we shall only be

able to indicate the scope of a few of the many fascinating books that have lately come under our notice.

The two volumes entitled 'Occupation et Libération du Territoire, 1871-75. Correspondences,' form an important contribution to the history of the Franco-German war. They contain letters and despatches relating to the occupation and evacuation of French territory by the German army after the war of 1870, preserved either in the original or in copies in the papers of M. Thiers. They are written chiefly by Thiers himself, by the French minister of finance, by the French ambassador at Berlin, and the German ambassador at Paris, and by the French and German commanders-in-chief. A few letters are wanting but, nevertheless, we can follow in detail the entire course of the negotiations between the Cabinets of Paris and Berlin. The documents form a rare tribute to the skill and patriotism of Thiers, who amid the greatest difficulties undertook and finished the work that earned

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him the name of 'Le Libérateur du Territoire.' We may learn, too, from them how great men, even when in opposition, can be magnanimous, wise and patient.—The second volume of 'Dernières Lettres Inédites de Napoléon Ier,' collated with the texts, and published by Leonce de Brotonne, covers the period from January, 1811, to June 9, 1815, with a gap from March, 1814, to March, 1815, accounted for by the Elba episode. Unhappily, M. de Brotonne has died since the preparation of this volume, and we understand the work will not be continued.—The fifth volume of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Speeches, entitled 'Politique Française et Etrangère,' well serves as an exposition of his policy. Most of the speeches were delivered between 1898 and 1902, and his letter of resignation (3rd June, 1902) forms a fitting conclusion. The subjects cover a wide range and comprise constitutional and electoral questions, and questions of administration, home, foreign and colonial.—We may perhaps remind both the custodians of our libraries and the general reader of the splendid edition of the 'Mémoires de Saint-Simon' appearing in the 'Grands Ecrivains de la France,' edited by A. de Boislisle, with the collaboration of L. Lecestre. The latest volume (XVII) covers the year 1709. The notes, appendices and general editing are throughout admirable.—The eighth volume of 'Lettres de Louis XI., roi de France, publiée d'après les originaux pour la société de l'histoire de France,' and edited by Joseph Valsen and Etienne Charavay, is now available. It contains the letters for the years 1479-1480. We notice four to the King of England. The first volume starts with the letters of 1438 when Louis was dauphin. Volume IX. is in the press.—The first volume of the second edition of E. Levasseur's valuable 'Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France de 1789 à 1870,' has been most carefully revised by the author. He need scarcely have written so apologetic a preface, for everyone now admits the important influence exercised by economics on politics. While the book makes no pretensions to be a complete economic history of France-agriculture and the agricultural class are excluded and commercial questions are only just touched on—there will be found in it a complete history of wages, of the physical and moral condition of the working classes, and of social ideas on the organization of work.— The books we have hitherto mentioned furnish material for history: they can scarcely be regarded as history itself. Some of us fear that this dividing up of history into its component parts, as it were, will result in a loss to literature, and that there will not be again a Macaulay or a Froude. Yet the wise librarian will not hesitate to place these books on the shelves if only because from the ranks of those who read them may arise in the future a great literary historian.

Finished history is, however, to be found in Pierre de la Gorce's 'Histoire du Second Empire,' of which the sixth volume has lately been published; in Emile Ollivier's 'L'Empire Libéral; études, récits, souvenirs,' of which the eighth volume, entitled 'L'année fatale. Sadowa, 1866,' is now available; and in Albert Sorel's 'L'Europe et la

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Révolution Française,' of which the latest part, the fifth, deals with 'Bonaparte et le directoire, 1795-1799.' It is hoped to publish the sixth part, 'La Trêve, Lunéville, et Amiens, 1800-1805,' before the end of this year. All these works are important, and we regret our limited space does not allow us to do more than mention them. Ollivier's attitude to Sadowa is significant. He regards that defeat, and not the disaster in Mexico, as the true cause of Napoleon III.'s downfall. He considers Napoleon III. the real founder of Italian unity. That Germany opposes the principle of egoism to that of nationalities is the keynote of Ollivier's book.

Alfred Fouillée's 'Esquisse Psychologique des peuples européens,' the new volume in the 'Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine,' is deeply interesting. In former volumes M. Fouillée has dealt with the psychology of the French nation, and he now demonstrates the growing importance of understanding something of the psychology of nations other than our own. Bismarck once said-'It is as essential to know the characters of nations as to know their interests.' The study has yielded M. Fouillée some valuable results, but we must confine ourselves to a brief indication of his conclusions about England. He states very fairly the qualities and defects of the English nation. He characterizes her literature as that of practical philosophers who do not separate observation from action. While admiring her industry, trade, and colonial expansion, her comprehension of the practical conditions of free government, her poetry and literature, her progress in science and philosophy, he regrets that propaganda in favour of 'principles' is not to her taste; it is there that she differs from other European nations. With regard to England's future, he thinks that it is as uncertain for the Anglo-Saxons as for the neo-Latins: 'neither can flatter themselves that they are the depositary of virtue or of everlasting power . . . no nation can have eternal pre-eminence, nor can a nation be condemned to irremediable decadence, each benefits by the universal solidarity, the discoveries and experiments of the others . . . the future is not to the Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Greeks or Latins, it is to the most learned, the most industrious, and the most moral.'

'Une vie d'ambassadrice au siècle dernier, La princesse de Lieven,' by Ernest Daudet, is a welcome addition to our knowledge of a most interesting personality. Despite the large publicity given to this lady and her political actions, few know much of what the French would call the dessous of her life. A few letters written by her between 1812 and 1834 are accessible in an English translation, but M. Daudet has had at his disposal all the four hundred letters which she wrote to her brother between 1802 and 1838, and has also been permitted to draw some material from her correspondence with Guizot. Notwithstanding Mme. de Lieven's strong individuality, and the interest attaching to her love affairs with Metternich and Guizot, M. Daudet has scarcely succeeded in producing an artistic book from the literary standpoint. The Guizot episode attracts us most, and it seems strange that strong as was the affection existing be-

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tween herself and Guizot it did not permit them to marry when both were free to do so: the princess would not give up her title, and Guizot would not have his wife bear any name but his.—We can only mention Mirabeau's 'Lettres à Julie, écrites du donjon de Vincennes,' edited by Dauphin Meunier and Georges Leloir. They are now published for the first time, and are better reading than most novels.

French philosophers have the gift of treating abstruse questions in so clear and attractive a way that even the uninitiated are led to study them. Jules de Gaultier, in his two books 'Le Bovarysme' and 'La fiction universelle,' deals with the power of imagination in a somewhat original fashion. He ascribes all progress, all evolution to the power of conceiving ourselves other than we are. He believes that everything before becoming a reality exists in the desire of men in a state of fiction, in the state of representing a future form not yet existing. Every great man has before his eyes the conception he forms of himself, of his will, of his power, and of the effects of his actions; in fact he possesses the power of anticipating the real by the imaginary. We merely indicate the author's line of thought, but the point of view is well worth attention.

'Hommes et idées du xixme siècle,' by René Doumic, contains thoughtful critical essays. In reviewing a book on the 'new science' of collective psychology, M. Doumic comments on the curious fact that when a number of highly intelligent persons work together, as on committees, for instance,

the intellectual level drops, and he argues that, therefore, power without the counterbalance of the individual is to be feared. In another essay the writer demonstrates how misplaced is the sympathy usually shown in France with the so-called 'Crimes passionels.' 'On ne tue pas,' he declares, 'par amour. Le crime passionel est pareil aux autres; il est signe, non de sensibilité ou d'énergie, mais de bestialité; il a pour cause l'explosion des pires instincts que tout le travail des siècles n'a pu supprimer.' The essay forms an excellent antidote to contemporary French novels and plays. In the same volume, in treating of the relations between science and literature, he wisely observes that science states phenomena, and evolves laws; it is neither pessimistic nor optimistic, and is always outside aesthetics and ethics. Yet the poet and novelist must not ignore the progress of science, only he must know in what proportion and under what conditions to concern himself with it. The scientific spirit will play in the literature of the future a part analogous to that played by reason in eighteenth century literature.

There is no space left to write of novels and plays. But the loss is small since little of note has lately appeared. Anatole France in 'Histoire Comique,' René Bazin in 'Donatienne,' Paul et Victor Margueritte in 'Yette,' do not reach their usual level. In the first the character of Dr. Trublet, 'médecin du théâtre et ami des actrices,' stands out from the sordid story, and the worldly cynic sums up the whole duty of a physician thus: 'Je suis médecin. Je tiens boutique de mensonges. Je

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soulage, je console. Peut-on consoler et soulager, sans mentir? . . . Les femmes et les médecins savent seuls combien le mensonge est nécessaire et bienfaisant aux hommes.'

In conclusion let us advise all lovers of the beautiful in literature not to omit reading M. Angellier's delightful poems, 'Le Chemin des Saisons,' and M. Rostand's 'Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française,' a fine example of French prose at its best. In both works is a harmony of style and matter somewhat rare, even in France, at the present time.

ELIZABETH LEE.



HE annual meeting of the Library Association, held this year at Leeds, will long be remembered by those who attended it as the most practical and successful of the twenty-six annual meetings that have been held by the

Association.

The fact that the capital city of the West Riding is noted for business ability, and that its citizens are practical to a degree, may have contributed to the business-like atmosphere which pervaded the meetings. The number of delegates to the Conference was as large as on any former occasion, and there was a better attendance at all meetings. The excellent programme of papers, carefully arranged to deal with some of the problems which press on Library Committees and Librarians, and the brilliant address of the President (Professor W. MacNeile Dixon of Birmingham) were the main factors in the success of this year's conference.

The devotion of a whole day to the discussion of the relations between Public Education and Public Libraries, and of a morning session to the subject of Branch Libraries, focussed the attention of the delegates upon two subjects of the utmost importance, while at the afternoon session of the third day "The

Best Books of 1902" were treated in five divisions by as many experts, a concurrent meeting being held in an adjoining room for the discussion of Library politics, the rate limit, and the delegation of powers

to Library Committees.

The public libraries of Leeds are supported and administered with much spirit. It has long been known as a vigorous exponent of the Branch Library idea; and if in the past it tried experiments with branch reading-rooms and libraries in Board Schools which were not exactly successful, yet it can truly be said that the efforts made in Leeds to meet the library wants of a city spread over an unusually large area, were made in the right spirit, and have resulted in the evolution of a system of libraries fully capable of meeting the needs of the city, so far as the limits imposed upon library expenditure will allow. At no time in the thirty-three years since they first began, have the public libraries of Leeds done better work than they are doing at this moment. The buildings of the Central Library, fine as they are, leave something to be desired, but the branch buildings recently opened, and others now being erected, are excellent, and include good reading-rooms for children. A visit paid to one of these branches made a deep impression as to the solid character of the work being done. The children's room especially was crowded with eager youngsters engaged in reading, or waiting to be served with books.

The re-election of Professor Dixon as President of the Association was a compliment fully deserved, and more than justified by the scholarly address with which he opened the Conference and the ability with which he presided over the proceedings. His lofty view of the mission of libraries as the universities of later life, if not exactly new, was certainly put forward in a new sense and in striking language. 'If,' he said, 'the exigencies of modern life, the struggle for a livelihood, to which nations as well as individuals seem now committed, if the requirements of man's physical nature usurp more and more for technical training, for what the Germans call Brodtstudien, the years at his disposal in youth, then it may be that, save for the privileged few, the library, the free school of the people, will become the best, perhaps the only school of the humanities, may serve an end not hitherto foreseen, attain an uncomputed power and fulfil an uncalculated destiny. It may assist the student of the days to come to do for himself what his schools and teachers fail to do, conduct him to higher levels than they, to a sympathetic communion with the hopes and fears, the achievements and ideals of the race. For, however narrow the intellectual horizon of the reader who frequents the library for purposes of a particular study, he must there meet with evidence of interests wider than his own; he must there breathe "an ampler æther, a diviner air" than among his own few books; he must there learn how rich and varied are the paths the mind can follow, how full the heaven is of stars, of how vast a world he is privileged to be an inhabitant. And if the school or the society in which his early years are spent offer a meagre nourishment, a barren diet for the soul, or endeavour to imprison him

within the walls of some contracted interest or sapless creed, here at least he can regain his freedom and claim his intellectual birthright. For it is not one of the least advantages of a library that within its quiet precincts no man is asked to subscribe to any scientific or theological dogma, or harassed by the dicta of the schools. There is no other such catholic institution, none founded upon principles so magnificently liberal. Amid its peaceful persuasions, many a student has found and will find his proper home, has felt and will feel "how inexhaustibly the spirit grows," and amid its eloquent silences pursuing his thought, perhaps, through difficult and clouded way, will look up to find—

"Day, like a mighty river, flowing in."

'One foresees for the public library a widening horizon, an increasing purpose, since to it alone, of all institutions which have the things of mind for their province, no limits are prescribed. Unrestricted by any conservative principles, it cannot fall behind—a fate that may even for a season overtake the university—it cannot as long as opinions are expressed in books fall behind the advancing tide of thought nor lose touch with the requirements of men; it cannot from its very constitution be other than "the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." And so it comes that the education given by the library may be regarded as supplementary or even corrective to that which schools and colleges provide. It may even be described as the university of later life, the university one is never too old to enter and is never called upon to

leave, which prescribes no rigid order and no hours of study, entertains no prejudices against this subject or in favour of that, imposes no test upon its students and expresses no discouraging preference for the brilliant over the duller intellects. Its circle is one of the noblest inclusiveness, it remains

"A world above man's head to let him see How boundless might his soul's horizon be."

-The proceedings of the second day were of unusual interest by reason of the attendance of a number of delegates representing such educational bodies as the National Union of Teachers, the Head Masters' Association, the various University Extension centres, the National Home Reading Union, and other bodies. The invitation to these kindred associations to send representatives to discuss the relations between education and libraries was formulated at the previous annual meeting. The response made to the invitation, the excellent addresses delivered by several of the delegates, and the evident sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the librarians, augur well for the future. All the representatives of other societies present, with the council of the Library Association, were appointed a committee to consider the whole question and to draw up a report for presentation to the next conference. Such a step must remove many misconceptions on the part of educationists as to the work of the libraries, and may result in an epoch-making report. At any rate, it is a great thing to have brought the librarians and the teachers a little closer together; to have clasped hands across a

chasm may lead to a bridge between school and library which in time will kill the remembrance that the chasm was once almost impassable. It is without doubt in this direction that the salvation of the public libraries must be sought.

It remains to be seen whether the invitation given this year to delegates from other educational bodies has aroused enough interest in the subject of libraries to induce those other bodies in their turn to invite the Library Association to send delegates to discuss the relations between libraries and

education at the Teachers' Conferences.

The address by Mrs. Fairchild, of the Library School at Albany, New York State, on 'Schools and Libraries in America,' was enjoyed by everyone. She spoke with a freedom from convention, and with such a full knowledge of her subject, that she completely carried the audience with her. In America, as in this country, it is worthy of remark that the first effort to bring the schools and libraries together proceeded from the libraries, and that in some cases the advances were received coldly. The remedy was found in the United States by seeing that the Normal Schools in which the teachers are trained were well supplied in the matter of books. That is a most sensible and practical way of going to the root of a difficulty. Under the new Education Act some move on similar lines may be possible in connection with the Normal Colleges in this country; but in large districts, where the pupil teachers are taught at one central school, a move might be made at once to supply a library for the teachers in training there. If the public libraries

cannot face all the responsibilities of a complete scheme of school libraries, they might prepare for the future to this extent.

It would appear from Mrs. Fairchild's remarks that there is a fundamental difference between the idea of a school library in the United States and that in Great Britain. In the States the library supplied to the school is not a collection of books for general reading, but of books especially relating to the work of the school; in Mrs. Fairchild's own words, 'The books sent to a school should be to enrich the school instruction.' On this side of the Atlantic exactly the opposite idea prevails. The school library is for general reading, not a part of the school apparatus. It is intended to develop a taste for reading which, when school life is over, will hand on to 'the universities of later life' an army of readers capable of appreciating what is best in literature, not as now an army of people who have been taught the art of reading, but not how and what to read, who use their ill-balanced gift to swell the ranks of the half-educated, the bane of present-day letters.

The morning session having been wholly given to the children, the conference turned in the afternoon to the consideration of the adults. Contributions on the 'Work of the National Home Reading Union in its bearing upon the educational use of the Public Library,' by Dr. Hill, the Master of Downing College, and on 'Technical Libraries' by Mr. Jast, Librarian of Croydon, formed the groundwork of the discussions. Dr. Hill is an enthusiastic supporter of the National Home Reading

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Union, and rightly so, for the Union's aims are good, but somehow the libraries and the Union have never quite hit it off together. One cause of this may be the long-winded and involved circulars sent out from time to time by the Union. Many, besides librarians, must have been deterred from taking an interest in the work of the Union on this account. But there is also another difficulty. It is the strength of the rate-supported library that there is no need to be continually worrying readers for money. Beyond the purchase of a catalogue and even that is optional—the public library reader may go on year after year without any money passing between the reader and the librarian. But the Home Reading Union exists upon the subscriptions of its members and donations from its friends, and is hard put to it to pay its way. This is a matter for regret; but it explains much that is otherwise difficult to understand. For the Public Libraries to adopt a policy which would destroy the feeling of freedom from financial considerations now enjoyed by their readers, would be a serious step to take. For this reason, as things stand, the relations between the Home Reading Union and the Public Libraries cannot become very close.

The work of the afternoon was summed up in a resolution urging the local authorities, under the new Education Act, to make provision for the establishment and maintenance of technical libraries in every centre where technical instruction is given. Some difference of opinion existed as to whether such libraries should form part of the public library or be placed in the technical schools. The point is

unimportant at this stage. The main thing is to get the principle accepted by the education authority, and to induce that authority to promote efficiency and prevent overlapping by placing the direction of the technical libraries in the same hands as the

public libraries.

The final day of the Conference was a very full one-too full, in fact, because in the afternoon members had to choose between the valuable series of papers on the best books of the year, and the important discussions on the delegation of powers to library committees and on the vexed question of rate limitation. The morning session on branch libraries was also overloaded with five papers, the discussions being rather futile in consequence. A capital exhibition of plans, views, and statistical data relative to branches had been arranged; and if adequate time had been available for this important subject to be properly considered, much good might have resulted. It is to be hoped that at a future Conference it will be again included in the programme, with plenty of time for full discussion, and that the figures contained in the papers will be printed beforehand to enable members to grasp their import. Mr. Sutton, of Manchester, for example, gave some useful comparative figures as to the average population served by the branches in different towns, ranging from an average of 118,339 persons to each branch in Liverpool, down to 25,000 per branch, or perhaps less, in other places. It was quite impossible to take down the figures as they were read out, and until the paper is printed these and other similar details cannot be considered.

The papers on branches bristled with figures relating to all sorts of matters—income, expenditure, areas of library districts, areas served by branches, populations, and many other like details, all necessary, but most bewildering, when simply read out rapidly to comply with the exigencies of an over-

crowded programme.

To the present writer the net result of the Leeds Conference on the branches question is a conviction that the subject requires much more consideration and discussion than it has yet received. There is certainly room for great improvement in the planning of branches. In London the position is quite different from that in the Provinces, as indeed is the case with most library problems, a fact which is not altogether realized. Branches in London are self-contained institutions, and ought to be called District Libraries or by some such name, to distinguish them from the Branch Libraries in the Provinces, the true branches, because they are not self-contained, but only branches of a large central library. The provincial branch library is almost invariably a reading-room or rooms, and a distributing centre for books for home reading, relieving the central lending library from the strain of having too many customers, and taking the books nearer to the homes of those who for various reasons cannot use the central library. The ultimate work of the branch libraries in the Provinces will probably be to provide books for those who do not require to go deeply into any subject, and those who read only for recreation, leaving the central library, lending and reference, free to eater chiefly for students and scholars. In London, where people do not know anything of what goes on two streets from their own dwelling-place such a theory of libraries would not be suitable.

The Provincial Branch Libraries may therefore be planned in a much simpler way than, to judge by the plans exhibited, has been the practice hitherto. The whole subject of branches requires further treatment, and it is desirable, in view of the rapid increase in the number of branches now taking place, that the time for dealing with it should not

be unduly delayed.

At one of the two afternoon meetings Mr. Councillor Lucas, Chairman of the Blackpool Library Committee, introduced in an able address the question of the relations between Library Committees and the Borough Councils, or Urban District Councils as the case might be. Under the Libraries Act the Council is the 'Library Authority,' but may, if it thinks fit, delegate some (not all) of its powers to a Committee. This Committee may consist wholly of members of the Council, or it may include non-Council members. The greatest possible diversities of practice have grown up all over the country in consequence of this provision in the Libraries' Act. Mr. Lucas contended that the delegation of all such powers as can be legally delegated, to a Committee which thereby becomes more or less independent of the Council, is contrary to the spirit of the times. He thinks that the tendency is to concentrate all local administration in one body, the Council, and that for the libraries to stand aloof and claim independence for the Committees does

harm to the library cause, by keeping them outside the main stream of municipal life. There is certainly much sound sense in Mr. Lucas's arguments, and however local conditions may stand in the way, yet, in view especially of the operation of the new Education Act, it seems fairly clear that the semi-independent Library Committee has become an anomaly in local government. The School Boards have gone, and so have the Technical Instruction Committees (the only parallel to the Library Committees). The most recent of the adoptive acts, the Museums and Gymnasiums Act, does not give the power to appoint non-members of the Council on the Committee, or to delegate any powers.

In the main Mr. Lucas is right, though some of his arguments were based upon abuses of the Libraries Act and its powers, due to failure on the part of Councils to do their duty. The power under the Act remains absolutely with the Council, which is expressly named as the Library Authority. Only the day-to-day administration of the libraries can be delegated to the Committees, and even that with such reservations as the Council may think fit to impose. The Committee is appointed and may be removed by the Council; and all questions relating to buildings, rates and loans, remain abso-

lutely with the Council.

The present state of things is the outcome of conditions which are rapidly passing away. Municipal Government is no longer a matter of paving and sewering, cleansing and lighting. The existence of special acts authorizing local authorities to establish and maintain libraries and museums is now

an anomaly. These things belong to the routine of duties to be performed by the local governing body, and if any consolidation of the acts relating to local government should take place, libraries and museums would naturally fall into line with other

municipal undertakings.

Closely allied to the topic dealt with by Mr. Lucas was the question of the rate limitation introduced by Mr. Councillor Abbott of Manchester. He quoted some striking figures showing the unfairness of the rateable value as a basis for the library income, and stated that a large number of Borough and Urban District Councils had passed resolutions in favour of the removal of the rate limit. The bill drafted by the honorary solicitor of the Association (Mr. Fovargue) had not been introduced during the last session of Parliament because of the crowded state of business; but he urged the advisability of proceeding upon the lines already agreed to at the previous Conference. A resolution directing the Council of the Association to re-appoint a Committee with full power to promote the bill was agreed to with one dissentient.

The Library Association has still plenty of important work before it. The programme for the Newcastle-upon-Tyne meetings next year should follow upon the excellent lines of this year's Conference, avoiding details of library practice and grappling with the principles of library efficiency and progress, and above all giving more time for each subject.

JOHN BALLINGER.

THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSO-CIATION CONFERENCE.



LTHOUGH the Conference of the American Library Association at Niagara Falls was not held until June 22-26, yet full reports of its papers and proceedings are given in the 'Library Journal' for July, which

comprises 256 quarto pages set in double columns. How all the business could be crowded into seven sessions is something of a mystery. Even the Americans found the meeting too hurried, and, as the August number of the 'Journal' admits, disorganization and confusion were narrowly escaped.

They had a College and Reference Section, a Catalogue Section, a Trustees Section, a Children's Librarian's Section, a State Library Commissions Section, a Round Table Meeting for Small Libraries, and a 'social side,' with some 'adventures' all duly chronicled. There was quite a number of important Reports, some score of papers, and—of course—the President's address. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. K. Hosmer, and there was a 'representative attendance of about seven hundred persons.'

At the outset of his address the President took up the suggestion made by Prof. C. H. Eliot, at the Magnolia Conference, that books not in demand should be consigned to 'a receiving tomb,' somewhere out of the way, so that libraries might always find room for works of more general interest. To this plan Mr. Hosmer opposed the argument that many masterpieces would have been sacrificed, had this scheme been in operation in past times. Then, passing on to a warm defence of fiction, he pointed out that this form of literature was not only of recreative value, but was often usefully didactic; and, as prose-poetry (*Prosa-Dichtung*) it was quite capable of heightening and refining the taste. 'If the novel is to be discredited because that form of writing is open to abuse, not less must poetry, philosophy, biography, and history suffer discredit.' The closing passages of the address emphasized the desirability of combining wide scholarship with administrative ability.

The first three papers discussed 'The Treatment of Books according to the amount of their use.' It was suggested that library books should be graded off according to their utility, as shown by demand. Those rarely or never called for might be placed (in single copies) in some huge store, and a few of these asylums would suffice for a continent. Incidentally, problems of storage were discussed, and the necessity of allowing accredited research-workers to visit the

shelves was urged.

Four papers dealt with fiction. In the belief that 'the recreative function of the public library has not been sufficiently emphasized of late,' Mr. Bostwick would provide fiction bountifully and quickly, for 'the desire of the public to read current fiction is perfectly legitimate, and the public library cannot ignore it.' The reader of the next paper was inclined

to caution, and was buying less and less current fiction every year. Mr. Dana provided the antidote to Mr. Bostwick's bane. Fiction was far too prominent, and in catering for current demands libraries often forgot to provide the really worthy novels. He backed up his statements by some remarkable figures. Between 25 per cent. and 40 per cent. of the salaries' bill goes in calling for and issuing novels. 25 per cent. of the amount set apart for the purchase of books is spent on fiction, etc. Therefore, spend less in this direction, and buy no novels until at least a year after publication; the money can be laid out to greater advantage upon better books.

Mr. Gaillard was again heard pleading for 'Greater Freedom in the Use of Books.' Dismiss restrictive rules, he urged. Abolish the age limit, extend the time for reading beyond the customary fortnight, and make it as easy as possible for persons to join the library. We, on the east of the Atlantic, have thought ourselves so hopelessly in the rear of American library practice that it astonishes us to learn that impediments unknown to us exist in the States. Even a former librarian was refused books because he was not 'known' through the usual official routine, and we gather that books may be renewed once only. Against these vexations Mr. Gaillard protests. He would even encourage readers to 'take as many books as they need, and to keep them as long as necessary.'

Two papers advocated 'Duplicate Pay Collections of Popular Books.' In plain English this means a supplementary circulating library, à la Mudie, but forming part of the public library. These have been

found financially profitable, but have sent up the fiction issues. A plan somewhat similar to this is in operation at Willesden Green, but we question whether English conditions are generally favourable to such a scheme.

A paper on Canadian public libraries revealed some curious facts. In Nova Scotia only two public libraries exist (Halifax and Sidney), 'but the time is ripe for the establishment of others.' Roman Catholic Quebec has also only two, music and dancing being greatly in vogue. In Ontario 'the prevailing sentiment is in favour of free public libraries,' and the province contains five hundred of them, mostly small. The wide plains of Manitoba show only one solitary city, Winnipeg, which is duly equipped with a library; but the Aberdeen Association, 'named after its foundress, the Countess of Aberdeen,' is doing useful work in 'supplying isolated ranches and farms with magazines and books.' The small libraries of the country and of the city, and work with children in small libraries, were treated of in three papers, the last discussing the question of juvenile-book selection under restrictive difficulties. One of the longest papers before the Conference related to 'The Classification and Cataloguing of Children's Books,' a tribute to the (happily) great interest with which that section of library work is now regarded. 'Southern Libraries' were described by Miss Mary H. Johnson. It is scarcely surprising to hear that the aftermath of the war, in the shape of disorganized communities and huge public debts, has been inimical to the growth of public libraries, but the Carnegie

wand has been waving with bewitching effect, and at the present time there is great promise of better

things.

The 'Report of the Committee on Library Administration' is of considerable length, its main object being to secure completeness and uniformity in library reports. How easily this may be done is shown in Mr. Foster's schedules of information required. Growth comes first and has twenty-four subheadings; Use is next with twenty-nine; Methods of Administration follow with thirty; Finances have thirty-seven; Ratios five, and Cost (a sub-heading of Ratios) six. Indexes, tables of contents, and illustrations are optional. Mr. Bostwick's paper, which followed this, pointed out 'Weak Points in Library Statistics,' such as their inability to convey any idea of 'the increase of spiritual-mindedness in a community due to the reading of books, the ratio of pages read to pages unread,' and so on. The importance of figures is exaggerated; the figures themselves are not always quite convincing, and there is a tendency to multiply statistics unduly.

A voluminous and most important 'Report of the Committee on Library Training' was submitted and ably discussed. Efforts are, apparently, to be made to secure some standard of uniformity in this matter. At present in some States minimum and maximum age limits are fixed; and some library schools accept as students graduates only. The number of subjects taught varies in places from five to forty, and the fees range from ten dollars a year to a hundred and fifty. All the schools prefer to educate those who are already engaged in library

work, but they are not exclusively limited to these. In the end it was resolved to refer to the Council the question of appointing a standing committee which should submit a report for discussion every year; and also to consider the publication of a tract

on training.

Like our own Association, the American Library Association had under consideration the matter of the circulation of public documents. There are some five hundred sets of Congressional papers practically at the disposal of public libraries, but these are supposed to be distributed when senators have done with them. In order to secure a more prompt and adequate supply it is proposed to ask Congress to publish a special edition of official publications, with various printed marks, and an improved index, for library purposes:—English Government please

copy.

The Report of the Publishing Board stated that the new edition of the 'American Library Association Catalogue' would appear early next year. The old entries are being revised and 3,000 new volumes will be included, making 8,000 in all. The Library of Congress has generously undertaked to print the catalogue as one of its bulletins, for free distribution, and to furnish printed cards for all the books included in it for sale at a low price. Among other publications are cards indexing miscellaneous sets, such as British Parliamentary Papers, 1896-1899; Bibliographica, and annotated cards of works on English history. These are only a few of many activities, and they are singled out for mention here as being of especial interest to English librarians.

The important announcement was made of the proposed publication of 'a periodical devoted to notes upon current literature, so written, classified and indexed as to assist the librarian in choosing books for purchase, of assigning subject entries in cataloguing, of classification, and of reference work.' The principle of evaluation was discussed and approved.

Of other matters before the Conference the most important was the question regarding net books. Mr. Zimmermanm (of Messrs. McClurg and Co.) explained the case for the publishers and booksellers. In his opinion all books will eventually be published at net prices. Libraries had undoubtedly increased the number of readers, but what about buyers? As to the claims of libraries, they were not like booksellers who undertook risks in stocking books and were therefore entitled to favourable discounts. Then, too, the bookseller has his living to get, and libraries of course have not. In course of time the growth of libraries may bring into existence publishers who will look to libraries for their main support; who will take into consideration library needs alone, and who will inform inquiring booksellers that their publications are subject to no discount to the trade! It is significant that this suggestion received serious consideration. A long, instructive and occasionally somewhat heated, discussion ensued. A consensus of opinion showed that the net system made a difference of 20 per cent. in the cost of books to libraries. As a consequence libraries were avoiding the more costly books. It was pointed out that the sale of new books was the breath of life to publishers, and librarians were invited to turn their attention to good old editions of reputable authors. 'Here,' said Mr. Elmendorf, 'is a certain class of institution that has got to have books. The publishers demand this [net] price because here is a purchaser that has got to buy. That is where the injustice comes in.' In the opinion of the speaker this amounted to an illegal discrimination against libraries, and he urged that for a certain period no net books should be bought. More drastic treatment was hinted at by others, viz., the general boycotting of a selected publisher. 'And if you pick the right one what will become of the American Publishers' Association?' Finally a committee was appointed and financed to watch the matter and act in the interests of libraries generally. It may be mentioned that in the States 10 per cent. discount off the price of net books is allowed to public libraries, and restrictions lapse twelve months after publication, when booksellers may fix such terms as they choose.

The Catalogue Section was comparatively unimportant, a long discussion upon the wisdom or unwisdom of inverting certain entries resulting in a verdict (against the recommendation of the Committee) for inversion. Thus 'Bureau of Education' will be transposed into 'Education, Bureau of.' How long it took to arrive at this decision we do not know, but the discussion occupies twenty-two columns of solid type, and the meeting was adjourned at 10.10 p.m.

W. E. DOUBLEDAY.

R. PROCTOR'S review of Dr. Voullième's book on the early printers of Cologne may well seem to most readers a striking example of his mastery of the whole field of early printing. Dr.

Haebler who has made a special study of Spanish books, M. Claudin who is writing the great 'Histoire de l'imprimerie en France' for the French government, and as many other specialists in the history of printing in the fifteenth century as have come into touch with him, will one and all testify that his general knowledge of the subject as a whole has enabled him for many years to meet experts in any section of it upon equal terms, and the review printed in this number of 'The Library' is a fresh proof of this power. He himself, however, thought as little of it as he did of everything else in the nature of 'a paper' which has from time to time been extracted from him, and it was with a note saying that it had much better be burnt that he left it out for me to find on my return from a holiday. In case any slip or mistake should be found in it, the statement must here be made that it was written in a hurry just before his departure for the Tyrol on August 29th, and that the proofs have not had his revision. By the time they came to hand the absence of any news from him after September 5th was exfr

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citing anxiety so grave that it is impossible for a friend, at this moment, to write about it.

Within a few days of the appearance of this number of 'The Library' the section 'Germany' in the continuation of Mr. Proctor's 'Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum' will be ready for issue. Save for the beginning made, generations ago, by Panzer, the period 1500-1520 has hitherto been an almost trackless wilderness. It will be found, however, that Mr. Proctor has been able to do for the German books of these years not only all that he did for those of the fifteenth century, but a great deal more. When he set out on this second task it was with the expectation that he should have to concern himself almost as much with publishers as with printers, but the types have worked out wonderfully, almost every masterless book has been traced to the press which issued it, the founts themselves are grouped in classes and illustrated with facsimiles, while the ornamental borders and initial letters are also described and registered.

Some time before going for his holiday Mr. Proctor had finished up another piece of work, the year's output of the Type Facsimile Society, the management of which, save as regards the accounts, has been from the first entirely in his hands. The plates this year are unusually plentiful and good. There are upwards of fifty of them, a wonderful number for a society with an income of only £50, and they illustrate several aspects of early printing. The obscurer presses, ever beloved by Mr. Proctor,

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are well to the front. Six of the names in the underlines, taken in succession, are those of Filippo di Pietro, Renaldus of Nijmegen, Liga Boaria, Gaspar de Cantono, Jacopo di Carlo di Giovanni, and Peter of Heidelberg. Not many bibliographers, it may be guessed, could obtain high marks on the question where, when and what did these men print? Fine printing is illustrated by the roman type of Joannes Adam of Naples, and the gothic of Ant. Gontier of the same place and by several of the French types; curious printing by a type supposed to have been used at Zurich about 1475, which is almost suggestive of the 'fat-faced' founts used in England a hundred years ago. Early book-illustrations are represented by a fine Naples cut from 'Il Giardino,' printed by Christian Preller in 1490, by a large Lyonnese picture, showing little black devils attacking a baby, by some Delft cuts, pages from a Poitevin Horae and several others. The books from which the facsimiles are made are taken this time chiefly from the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the Bodleian.

The New Palaeographical Society has made an excellent start with a first issue of twenty-one facsimiles, five from Greek manuscripts and the rest all of English origin. Of the Greek examples the earliest are deeds from Upper Egypt belonging respectively to B.C. 127 and 106, the finest, a page from the Cambridge fragment from the much divided MS. E. of the Septuagint, which dates from the tenth century, and another from a Lambeth MS. containing the Gospels in Greek, dated about 1160. Both are delightful examples of handwriting. Of

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the English manuscripts the primacy must be given to the page from the Exeter Book, one of the most interesting relics of Anglo-Saxon poetry (about A.D. 950), none of which has hitherto been adequately reproduced. With this must be reckoned the Bodleian MS. of King Alfred's translation of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' which may be some sixty years earlier. Plates 11 and 12 show an ornamental border and a page of the text of an eleventh century Evangeliary probably written at Winchester, now at Cambridge. The British Museum is drawn on for a Petrus Comestor, a fine specimen of English fifteenth century work, and in plates 14-16 the Society fulfils one of its chief aims by reproducing from an early 14th century Psalter, which has become inaccessible by straying to Douay, the magnificently decorated first page, a large picture of the Crucifixion, and (in a reduced form) four other pages, all of them offering fresh proof of the high standard at this time attained by the English scribes and illuminators. In plate 17 a number of monastic press-marks are brought together, mainly from Royal MSS. in the British Museum. They show the system of press-marking in use in eleven English libraries, and are distinctive enough to suggest that, if the series is extended, press-marks, even when unaccompanied by inscriptions, may become a means of proving the provenance of books in a quite satisfactory way. On plate 18 we have another contribution to library lore, a Latin descrip-

of a library of some two-hundred and twenty-four volumes at Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire. 'It appears that there were four cases (columpne), each

with eight shelves (gradus) distinguished by a letter and number (litera quotata), except in the case of certain letters which did not extend beyond a single shelf. The volumes were marked on the first leaf, or outside, or in both places, with a letter and number, being arranged in classes from A, the Bible, to Q, books in French.' Lastly, in plate 21, we have a specimen of one of the rarest classes of manuscripts, a mortuary Roll, which was probably completed about 1230. By that time no fewer than one hundred and twenty-two religious houses had recorded their prayers for the soul of Lucy, foundress and first prioress of the priory of St. Cross and St. Mary at Hengham, or Hedingham (co. Essex), and the roll extended to nearly twenty feet. To obtain such a number of different hands, all nearly contemporary, is a real addition to the student's acquaintance with the possibilities of English handwriting early in the thirteenth century. The list of the religious houses and the order in which they occur are interesting, and the words with which almost every 'titulus' ends, 'Oravimus pro vestris, Orate pro nostris,' as we spell them out in all these various hands, come as a refrain of no little pathos.

The want of a satisfactory handbook of library administration from the special point of view of the British Municipal librarian has long been felt, and in Mr. Brown's 'Manual of Library Economy,' it is not too much to say that this want is fully and satisfactorily supplied. A few matters of controversy are handled in it, and as to these, Mr. Brown's exposition of his views may leave his opponents un-

convinced, but the spirit of the whole book is eminently practical and reasonable, and the wide knowledge and ripe experience of library-work, of which it is the outcome, must command the respect of every reader. No detail is too small for Mr. Brown's notice, and his elucidation of details is greatly aided by the number and excellence of his illustrations and diagrams, which enable him to give a good idea of every appliance or arrangement about which he writes, and also to show the exact size and lettering of various useful slips, cards and notices. Into the discussion of all these details it is impossible here to enter, but we may mention a few of the larger questions of library policy on which Mr. Brown makes useful suggestions. Thus he proposes, as an alleviation of the hardships produced by the penny limit to the rate, that the interest on loans for library-buildings should be chargeable to the General Rate, and that for the Library be applicable solely to maintenance. He demonstrates the folly of the Committees which in order to save a few months' salary, build their library first and appoint the librarian when the architect has worked his will. He draws up an ingenious scale of salaries for headlibrarians, varying with the library's income, 30 per cent. on the first £,500, 10 per cent. on each additional hundred up to £2,000, 5 per cent. on each additional five hundred up to £6,000, and thereafter, first 21 per cent. and then 2 per cent. on higher amounts. The resulting figures are certainly not unreasonable (when the rate yields £1,000 the librarian gets £200, when it yields £5,000 he gets £450), and the scale might well be adopted uni-

versally. As to assistants, Mr. Brown lays down that "in every case where a sub-librarian is expected to act as a substitute for his chief he might receive as a maximum salary half of what is being paid to that official." Mr. Brown believes also that, considering the inconvenience of broken times, a fortytwo-hours week is most conducive to efficiency in the staff, and that an average of eight hours a day, or forty-eight hours a week, should be regarded as a maximum. He protests vigorously against extravagant buildings, based on the idea that every local library is to be a little British Museum and keep its obsolete books to all eternity, thereby requiring continually more space. As a guide to committees he has drawn up a table showing the size of library buildings which can be erected and maintained by places with different incomes, allowing for every £1,000 of income £3,600 to be borrowed for building, £400 for furniture, 72,000 cubic and 4,412 square feet in the building, a storage capacity of 34,000 volumes and accommodation for 200 readers. On the importance of allocating at least 10 per cent. of the loan to furniture he insists strongly and rightly, as cheap furniture in a library is repellent to readers and in the end very expensive. As regards regulations both for the staff and for readers, Mr. Brown writes in a very liberal spirit. In the one case he has no belief in elaborate systems of checks, and in the other is opposed to all vexatious restrictions. It is not too much to say that from its first page to its last his book is well abreast with the high-water mark of municipal librarianship, and that it will form a useful starting-point in all future discussions.

About several other books which it would be pleasant to notice at length only a few words can be said. In his 'Facsimile de livres copiés et enluminés pour le roi Charles V., M. Delisle has demonstrated to his friends that it is hopeless to try to get even with them, since a copy enriched with fourteen beautiful plates has been sent to each of the subscribers to the Bibliography of his works, the Bibliography itself having been a most liberal return for the small subscription. Another interesting book is 'Le premier livre xylographique italien,' in which the Prince d'Essling has shown that ten woodcuts which appear in the 'Devote Meditationi sopra la Passione,' printed at Venice in 1487, are cut down from those in a block-book, of which a copy is preserved in the Kupferstich-Kabinet at Berlin, for which he claims the date of about 1450.

Mr. C. T. Jacobi has brought out a third edition of his 'Some Notes on Books and Printing,' a book full of useful information for both authors and publishers, and we may add also for students of printing. Mr. A. Growoll, after producing an excellent 'Booktrade Bibliography in the United States,' has given us another good piece of work in 'Three Centuries of English Book-Trade Bibliography,' to which Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library has added a list of the Catalogues published for the English Book-trade from 1595 to 1902. For such a work Prof. Arber had laid a good foundation in his article on 'Contemporary Lists of Books printed in England,' contributed to 'Bibliographica,' vol. iii. (one of the most notable articles the magazine had the honour of printing), and now Mr. Arber is to the front again with a handsome quarto containing the first instalment of his promised reprint of 'The Term Catalogues,' extending from 1668 to 1682. Into the merits of this volume space forbids any attempt to enter fully, but it may be noted that it surpasses expectation in containing its own indexes, both of titles and of authors, publishers and subjects, instead of leaving this information to be supplied in the last of the three volumes for the entire book. This is a much more convenient plan, and makes it possible to enter into some of the fruits of Mr. Arber's work sooner than was anticipated. Thus we can already enjoy his division of medical works according as they followed the Astrological, Galenical and Chemical methods, and investigate the literature of each. The student of London topography will find references here to works concerned in some way or other with no fewer than seventyfive London churches. The alert bibliographer who desires to base a history of publishing on Prof. Arber's researches may begin compiling his notes on Clavell, Parkhurst, Royston and Herringman, and students of other subjects will find much material ready to their hand. Prof. Arber's book came out too late for adequate notice in this number, but it is to be hoped that 'The Library' may be able to do it better justice later on.

A. W. P.

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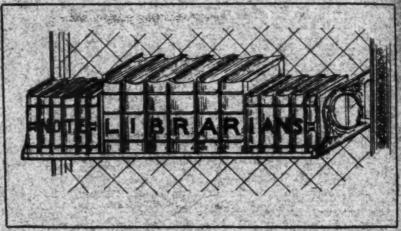
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